THE COLLECTED WORKS OF MAHATMA GANDHI

XL

(February-May 1929)



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PREFACE

Gandhiji's chief preoccupations during the period covered in this volume (February 15 to May 31, 1929) were khadi propaganda and organization of foreign-cloth boycott in preparation for the struggle for swaraj envisaged in the resolution passed by the Congress at Calcutta in December 1928. The Congress Working Committee at a meeting held in Delhi on 17th February had, after four hours' discussion, accepted Gandhiji's scheme of boycott and the Foreign-cloth Boycott Committee was formed with him as Chairman. Gandhiji invited Jairamdas Doulatram, a prominent Congress worker from Sind, to resign his seat in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and take up full-time work as Secretary of the Committee. A detailed programme was drawn up and Gandhiji appealed to the country to pursue it vigorously. He visited Burma in March to collect funds for khadi and other constructive activities and carried his message of the boycott of foreign cloth there too. In April-May he undertook an extensive tour of Andhra, penetrated deep into the remotest villages and addressed thousands upon thousands of villagers.

For Gandhiji boycott of foreign cloth was not a political weapon against the British but a means of relieving the chronic under-employment in the country and attaining "swaraj in terms of the hungry millions" (p. 78). He asked everybody to put in his mite: "Let no one belittle his or her own individual effort. Complete boycott means an aggregate of individual effort. . . . It is the individual effort that will have precipitated the national response whenever it comes" (p. 44).

The programme of public bonfires of cloth was revived and on March 4, at a meeting in Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, Gandhiji himself lighted one such bonfire in disregard of a police notice declaring that the act would be an offence in law. Gandhiji questioned the validity of this interpretation of law and, when subsequently charge-sheeted in a court, reiterated what he had explained at length at the meeting: "This boycott is not part of civil disobedience. There was no intention to defy the police notice for the sake of defiance and courting imprisonment" (p. 181). Gandhiji was convicted and fined Re. 1. He was not surprised by the magistrate's finding. It only confirmed his opinion "that in cases of a serious clash between the authorities and the public, the judges would, even if unconsciously, exonerate the former" (p. 201).

Commenting on the incident in *Navajivan*, Gandhiji had said: "I hope that the lathis of hundreds of thousands of policemen will not be able to extinguish the fire that was kindled in that park on that day" (p. 84). The incident did serve to raise the political temperature in the country and gave momentum to the boycott movement. Gandhiji, however, was not satisfied. He was conscious of the weakness of the country and the Congress and was convinced that without national regeneration, which he called self-purification, they would not be able to reform the Government (p. 19). Constructive work, including khadi, was for him "a symbol of soul-force and of faith in it" (p. 271). But in the course of his tours he realized that the programme was not being prosecuted in that spirit. He missed, he said, "a living faith in the method of non-violence, I have felt even a want of faith in it. An atmosphere of despair undoubtedly pervades the air. This demoralizing uncertainty disables workers from appreciating to the full the programme prescribed by the National Congress" (pp. 260-1).

The Government's policy of repression seemed to have given rise to what Gandhiji described as a "philosophy of mad revenge and impotent rage" (p. 259). On April 8, when President Vithalbhai Patel rose in the Central Legislative Assembly to give his ruling on the Public Safety Bill brought forward by the Government, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshvar Dutt threw two bombs and some red pamphlets from the visitors' gallery. Gandhiji publicly condemned their action, but also told the Government that they were "in no small measure to blame for the madness of the bomb-thrower" (p. 259). At the same time he warned Congress workers too: "Congressmen whose creed is non-violence will do well not to give even secret approval to the deed but pursue their method with redoubled vigour, if they have real faith in it" (p. 260).

During the Burma tour from March 8 to 22, Gandhiji utilized the opportunity to advise the Indian residents to maintain correct relations with the Burmese and to sympathize with their aspirations (pp. 106 & 112). On the demand for the separation of Burma, he advised the Indians "not to take sides and to let the Burmans decide the question for themselves" (p. 183). On non-political matters, Gandhiji gently drew the attention of his hosts to the evils that he noticed in their midst. "There are things in your practice which I have not been able to reconcile with the teachings of the Buddha. . .", he told a public meeting in Mandalay (pp. 159-60). He wanted the Burmans to "become torch-bearers lighting the path of a weary world towards the goal of

ahimsa" and to adopt the path of self-purification and penance for that purpose (pp. 161-2).

Returning from the Burma tour Gandhiji presided over the Kathiawar Political Conference. He counselled the local workers moderation in dealing with the Princes, arguing that it was possible to bring about reforms in the Indian States and that, therefore, he did not seek their destruction as he did that of the British Government (pp. 189-90). "Indian Princes are like us," he said later in an article in *Navajivan*, "they are the products of this land, they have the faults which we have and we should cultivate the charity to grant that they may have even the good qualities which we ourselves have" (p. 301).

The Andhra tour, from April 6 to May 21, was the longest he had undertaken in any province and fetched the highest collection from any single province: about Rs. 2,64,400. This was his longest and most intensive tour (p. 433), but he would repeat it "a hundred times under . . . a superintendent like Deshabhakta and amid a people like the Andhras" (p. 412). In his speeches Gandhiji reminded the people of "the four pillars of swaraj: wear only khaddar, eradicate the drink and drug evils, remove untouchability, and work for Hindu-Muslim unity and inter-communal unity" (p. 316). The most memorable incident of the tour, for him, was his visit to a girl-widow named Satyavatidevi who wished to gift all her ornaments and jewellery to the Khadi Fund. "The story of Satyavati", Gandhiji wrote afterwards, "is enacted in hundreds of Hindu homes every day. The curse . . . descends upon Hindu society so long as it keeps the widow under an unforgivable bondage" (p. 322).

The volume provides ample illustration of Gandhiji's personal *tapascharya* in pursuit of the goal of *moksha* through service of humanity to which he had dedicated his life. Writing on the death of Rasik, his grandson whom he had brought up himself since Harilal's estrangement and whom he had been training for national service, he said: "With the views I hold on death Rasik's death has caused me no grief, or such grief as I have felt is purely based on selfish considerations. . . . His death therefore only brings me closer to God, makes me realize my responsibility more fully than before" (p. 14). Writing to Mirabehn towards the close of his Burma tour, he said: "I shall feel the parting with Dr. Mehta. I see that I can comfort him if I am there. But this is a private privilege I may not enjoy" (p. 158).

It was, however, the affairs of the Ashram that tested Gandhiji's capacity for *anasakti*—non-attachment—to the utmost. Since the

death of Maganlal a year earlier Gandhiji had been taking keener interest in introducing greater ethical and community discipline in the Ashram. But this seems to have proved beyond the immediate capacity of most inmates. The crisis came in April after serious moral lapses by two co-workers and violation of an Ashram rule by Kasturba were brought to Gandhiji's notice. Undeterred by the risk of incurring obloquy for the Ashram, Gandhiji wrote about these lapses in *Navajivan* under the caption "My Shame and Sorrow", and the article was translated in *Young India* (pp. 209-12). He wrote to Mirabehn: "We are the better for the exposures" (p. 251). And to G. D. Birla he confessed "the sweet joy of publicly confessing one's own guilt" (p. 311).

Gandhiji took the responsibility for these lapses upon himself. "I hold the manifestation of the corruption in the Mandir," he said, "to be merely the reflection of the wrong in myself" (p. 211). The anguish in his mind breaks out in his questions: "But what am I to do? Should I flee or commit suicide or embark on an endless fast or immure myself alive in the Mandir or refuse to handle public finance or public duty?" He could do none of these things mechanically, he said, but must wait for the voice within. "An activity commenced in God's name may be given up only at His bidding. And when He wishes this activity of mine to be brought to a close He will surely prompt society to hound me out of its pale and I hug to myself the hope that even in that dread hour of retribution I shall still have power to declare my faith in Him" (p. 212).

The tensions that seem to have followed the disclosures led several inmates, including Mahadev Desai and Narandas Gandhi, to think of leaving the Ashram. Gandhiji, realizing the practical limits on the pace of growth in the Ashram, decided to lighten his control and let the inmates themselves shape it in the manner they thought best (p. 338). The Ashram was a medium for conducting "an experiment in absolute 'democracy'" (p. 368). He told Chhaganlal Joshi, Secretary of the Ashram, that he would not mind any of the activities of the Ashram, or the Ashram itself, being wound up. "I have made it my profession in life to break up homes and have felt no wrench in the heart at any time while doing so. . . . I shall, then, feel no wrench in my heart in breaking up this Ashram and building a new one" (pp. 347-8). All that he craved for was sincerity on the part of co-workers. "Sincerity may sometimes appear cruel. You should not shrink from appearing to be cruel to me. Be sincere at any cost" (p. 348).

In a letter to Chhaganlal Joshi in connection with the Ashram

affairs, Gandhiji said: "Truth is never ashamed of itself anywhere in the world. When truth feels ashamed of itself, you may be sure that it is not truth but falsehood" (p. 306).

Replying to an open letter from the Rev. B. de Ligt on his attitude to war, he said: "I can no longer in any conceivable circumstance take part in Britain's wars. And I have already said in these pages that if India attains (what will be to me so-called) freedom by violent means she will cease to be a country of my pride; that time would be a time for me of civil death" (p. 365).

In a discussion with Dr. John Mott, an evangelist of repute who met Gandhiji at Sabarmati, he deprecated conversion. The effort should never be to undermine another's faith but to make him a better follower of his own faith. Recognizing that he was up against a solid wall of Christian opinion, he still declared that the prophets spoke "not through the tongue but through their lives" (p. 60).

In a brief but moving article (pp. 245-6) addressed to young people struggling for self-mastery, Gandhiji recommends repeated reading of the *Gita* and the *Ramayana* as a means of strengthening the heart and purifying the mind. A review article on an Antyaja Directory concludes thus: "True art is never useless. . . . Nature abounds in art and . . . art is filled to the brim with utility. There is not a single useless colour in a peacock's plumage; if we are not aware of their purpose the reason is our ignorance, not the extravagance of Nature" (p. 342).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to volume I of this series are to the 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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CONTENTS

1. *STATEMENT ON SIND CONGRESS AFFAIRS*[1]

[On or after *February 15, 1929*][2]

At an informal meeting of the Sind Provincial Congress members which was held at Mirpurkhas on 15th instant to consider various domestic questions, I was invited to be present. This meeting was originally convened by Manilal Kothari in connection with certain disputes that were referred to him by the two wings of the P.C.C. for disposal and for the election of the Executive. But, in view of the tension between the parties, I have advised them to elect Swami Govindanand as President by consent. He has named the following as members of the Provincial Executive and the following as members of the A.I.C.C.:[3]

I am aware that opinion is sharply divided over the nomination of the President as well as the members of the Executive. But I am sure that the interests of Sind will be best served by giving the above arrangement an honest trial, those aggrieved remaining passive and never obstructing the working of the provincial body. I have advised and all the parties concerned have agreed that there should be no personal references or comments in the Sind Press controlled or influenced by the respective partics in respect of their opponents, that each party should be allowed to do its work without interference directly or indirectly by the other. As many members were absent and as Swami Govindanand suggested that the meeting should be informal, the elections were not held.

From a photostat: S.N. 15341

[1] *Vide* the following item and also pp. 11-2.
[2] Gandhiji was at Mirpurkhas on February 15, 1929.
[3] The names are not found in the source.

2. *LETTER TO SWAMI GOVINDANAND*

MARWAR JUNCTION,
February 16, 1929

DEAR SWAMI,

I was sorry I was not able to have more time with you alone than I was able to have. I would now share with you my innermost thoughts through the more imperfect medium of correspondence.

I look to you to discharge your responsibility and shed sweetness around and about you, as you have promised. You have to stoop to conquer. You should become a real sannyasi without anger, without malice, without desire for self. I was not unobservant of the fact that you had no power behind you outside the ranks of your own immediate and very limited following. You are evidently unable to command money when you need it for public work. All this must be altered. You have sacrifice behind you. You have courage. What is it that keeps you from possessing greater influence over the people for their own good?

Why do you want office when the office does not want you? The narrow majority by which you may be able to retain office can bring no real satisfaction, can give you no real opportunity for service. If you will interpret office in terms of service, why will you not refuse to hold it unless your opponents too insist upon your holding it?

I have given effect as much as possible to your wishes in so far as I have been able to interpret them. But I would like you after the election is over or even before, if you have the humility, to confer with Jairamdas and others and think of another president whom you will unanimously elect. Anyway I look to you to run the Congress machinery in Sind smoothly and honestly. *Verb. sap.* You will not I hope misunderstand or misinterpret this letter.[1]

Yours sincerely,

[PS.]

I am in Delhi between Sunday and Tuesday care Speaker Patel. Then Sabarmati for a week.

From a photostat: S.N. 15339

[1] *Vide* also pp. 11-2.

3. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

February 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had got your letter at Mirpurkhas. Raojibhai may go through an operation in his nostril, if he wants to. I have no news this time, too, about the condition of Totaram's eyes. The incident concerning . . . bhai[1] was painful from beginning to end. Perhaps he will not return at all.

Malkani will arrive there on Tuesday. He will write to you. The final decision about him is altogether different. He is to be paid Rs. 150 per month from the Birla fund. He will work in Sind. He is going there in order to learn the constructive science of khadi.

I shall arrive there on Wednesday evening. I have decided to postpone the Andhra tour and to proceed, instead, to Rangoon. I shall leave on a date so that I can reach Rangoon on March 8. I shall, therefore, get about ten days in Ahmedabad. I shall leave Rangoon on or before the 21st and return to the Ashram some time about the 28th. From the Ashram, I shall go to Kathiawar and spend 30th, 31st and April 1 there. Immediately after that, I shall leave for Andhra Pradesh and spend one month there. Thereafter, where the fates take me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Pay Jaisukhlal from the [Udyoga] Mandir funds and draw the money for the purpose from any accounts that it may be necessary to do. He and we should take it that he belongs to the Mandir.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5389

[1] The name is omitted here.

4. *LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI*

Saturday [February 16, 1929][1]

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have to reach Rangoon on March 8, but I do not wish to leave the Ashram before March 2. Which route should I take? Going *via* Calcutta takes the least time, doesn't it? I think of travelling as a deck passenger. Have you any suggestion to make in this regard? I am writing this on my way to Delhi. I shall be in Delhi from the 17th to the 19th. My address there will be c/o Speaker Patel. I expect your mother is quite well by now. What happened in Bombay? Let me know if you have discovered the real cause.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4712. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

5. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

Saturday [February 16, 1929][2]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letters. I have written to Father and expect to receive his reply at Delhi. Whatever happens you are not to worry. The rest when we meet, since I hope to reach the Ashram on Wednesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3314

[1] From the postmark

[2] Following the Sind tour, Gandhiji, after a halt at Delhi, reached the Ashram on Wednesday, February 20, 1929.

6. *PROHIBITION IN SURAT DISTRICT*

Regarding the prohibition work that is going on in Surat district as a minor consequence of Bardoli Satyagraha, Smt. Mithubehn Petit writes:[1]

When Mithubehn backs up a movement, there is little fear of its fizzling out. Hence one can hope that if the movement continues at the present rate, no trace of liquor will be left in Surat district in a very short time. If this result does follow it may well be looked upon as a minor consequence of Bardoli, but very often minor consequences turn out to be more important than the main consequence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-2-1929

7. *FEAR OF OSTRACISM*

Having read my article on child-marriages, marriages of the old and ill-matched marriages, a gentleman, belonging to the Dasha Shrimali caste of Godhra has written a long letter, the substance[2] of which is as follows:

If I had the power to remedy this situation, I would certainly use it. But my capacity is limited. To stop such marriages, agitations should be organized by all castes in all the villages; these should be conducted by respectable people or by those who have the capacity to win respect. I however feel that local agitations need not necessarily be confined only to particular castes. But it is the duty and the right of respectable men even of other castes to prevent such cruel marriages. The belief that one caste has no right to interfere in the matters of another may be regarded as outmoded. It is the duty of men who love justice and carry influence to prevent injustice wherever it occurs.

People need to give up the fear of ostracism. In many cases ostracism is to be welcomed. The Mahajan of a caste loses its stature by doing injustice. To continue to belong to such a caste is like living under an immoral regime. One should get out of such a

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that prohibition was making progress.

[2] Not translated here. The correspondent had said that in his community many such marriages continued to take place.

caste before the caste boycotts one. Moreover, the elimination of sub-castes is desirable in all circumstances. And if a large number of people get out of a caste, then that caste will automatically cease to exist. People can be happy even where there are no caste barriers, and there is no reason why this should not happen so in Hinduism.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-2-1929

8. *TRIUMPH OF JUSTICE*

The students and staff of Gujarat College deserve to be congratulated upon the victory scored by the former.[1] The Director of Education also deserves congratulations for fearlessly administering justice. Mr. Shirras[2] has done nothing to deserve congratulations. He can earn congratulations now only if he voluntarily submits his resignation. The teacher who has lost the affection of the pupils, one who does not keep his word, does not deserve to remain a teacher.

The main features that were to be found in the Bardoli Satyagraha were present here. In Bardoli the demand was for justice. Leaders of the agitation were competent men. People obeyed rules and were determined. The peasantry of Bardoli was able, through peaceful conduct, to win over public opinion, hence the Government finally had to bow.

All these things were true in the case of the students. Here too, the leaders were competent, the students had faith in them. The students were firm and their demand was just. The students obeyed rules and, by their peaceful behaviour, were able to win over public opinion.

I hope that the students in the pride of their victory will not insult the Principal or their professors. Anyone who wages a non-violent war does not become proud of his victory and does not overstep the limits. But, just as it is necessary for students to be polite and keep within their limits, it is necessary for them to recognize their own strength. In spite of studying in Government colleges, they should maintain their freedom and never let their

[1] The students of Gujarat College had been on a prolonged strike in protest against punishment meted out to them for staying away from their classes on Simon Commission Boycott Day. For details, *vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 385-7 and 419-20.

[2] Principal of Gujarat College

self-respect be undermined. To do this, they should learn to become indifferent towards 'degrees'. There is no virtue in a 'degree'. But there is virtue in the acquisition of knowledge. And that is worth while only so long as one's self-respect is preserved. In this manner if they study with an attitude of detachment, they will increasingly add to their own strength. They have proved by their prowess that no one can stop them from participating in national work. We hope that, by accumulating such strength, they would contribute their share to the swaraj *yajna*.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-2-1929

9. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

February 18, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your letters. I am writing this in New Delhi. I leave tomorrow for the Mandir and leave the Mandir probably on 1st March for Rangoon returning to Sabarmati about 27th March. Burma address: 8 Pagoda Road, Rangoon, care of Dr. Mehta.

Your letters are all most consoling. Your work is evidently prospering. When you think that you can speak with some degree of certainty, I would like to publish an account in *Young India*. But I am in no hurry. You will report to me your progress about soft spindles. I discussed the thing with Keshu and he was unconvinced. It would be a good thing if all the inmates learn the habit of keeping Ashram hours.

Dr. Ansari is amazed at the success that has hitherto attended my diet experiment. He is indifferent about the weight, if I do not decrease.

Devdas has borne the grief[1] wonderfully. Ba and Kanti are still here. Probably they accompany me tomorrow.

Love.

BAPU

PS.

Yes, you have to hurry up with corrections of the autobiography. Andrews is now in New York and so is Gregg.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5344. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9399 and 9400

[1] Over the death of Rasik; *vide* pp. 13-4.

10. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [February 18, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letters. Yesterday there was a telegram saying you need not go back home. So you can stay on with a light heart. There is nothing more to write since we shall be meeting on Wednesday.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3333

11. SIND IMPRESSIONS

As it is, everything in India attracts me. It has everything that a human being with the highest possible aspirations can want. But when I first visited Sind in 1916, it attracted me in a special way and a bond was established between the Sindhis and me that has proved capable of bearing severe strains. I have been able to deliver to the Sindhis bitter truths without being misunderstood. I did not mince matters anywhere during the last extensive but hurried tour in Sind. The audiences took my remarks in good part and where it was possible, they gave immediate effect to my advice. The warning to the Karachi students against presenting addresses in English and filling them with empty (empty because of lack of action behind it) praise had instantaneous effect. The numerous other addresses that followed were much more subdued and were read in easy, simple and graceful Sindhi or in equally easy and graceful Hindi instead of being in high-flown and bombastic English which 90 per cent of the audience could never follow. Perfection was almost reached at the students' meeting in Hyderabad. The address was first composed in Sindhi and a good translation in Hindi was supplied to me. I must deal with this separately next week.[2] The only defect was that although it purported to come from the students they knew nothing of the contents. There is too much of laxity observable among us about

[1] From the reference to the anticipated meeting on Wednesday; Monday was February 18.

[2] *Vide* pp. 130-2.

such simple matters. Surely addresses presented on behalf of institutions must be duly approved by them before they are presented.

LALAJI MEMORIAL

The response to the Lalaji Memorial appeal was up to my expectations and even beyond those of the ever sanguine and ever successful national beggar Manilal Kothari. It amounts to over Rs. 70,000, much more than Sind's quota calculated according to any of the methods mentioned by me in these pages. If the other provinces do half as well as Sind, the amount mentioned in the Memorial appeal will be more than covered. And this can be easily done, if those who cherish Lalaji's memory will bestir themselves to make the collections. Our people have not yet acquired the habit of doing their duty without persistent reminders even as we need the loud call of the temple bell to remind us that there is God watching over us and summoning us to prayer.

KHADI

As in Travancore so in Sind there is unlimited scope for khadi propaganda for the simple reason that the women of Sind, young and old, do not go in for coloured saris with picturesque borders. They wear white scarfs without borders. If men of Sind will but do a little national propaganda among the womenfolk, they should have no difficulty in inducing them to take to khadi. But the painful fact is that with a few honourable exceptions they are not interested in khadi. They will not part with their foreign clothing. The terrible poverty of the people which they do not see fails to move them. Hence Sind is perhaps one of the most backward provinces in point of khadi.

Of production there is next to nothing. Acharya Kripalani who now better deserves the title of khadi hawker than of Acharya is emphatically of opinion that there is great scope for khadi production in Sind as he thinks that in spite of the prosperous appearance of the Amils and the Bhaibandhs there is much poverty in Sind. He quotes in proof of his statement that the pie is still current coin in Sind. I can bear testimony to the fact that apart from Orissa, I have never found so many pies in my collections as in Sind. In one collection of about ten rupees from among over a hundred men, forty pies were counted. This phenomenon cannot be explained away by saying that the people were stingy or unwilling to give. Stinginess I have never experienced in Sind. A people who gave over Rs. 70,000 in twelve days could not be considered unwilling. And the fact that they *had*

pies to give shows that a pic can fetch something in the Sind villages not even far away from the railway. In one place I found even cowries among the collections. Upon inquiry I found that a pice was equal to five cowries. At the same time, I am free to confess that this khadi hawker's evidence must be taken with a certain amount of reserve because of the fact that for years together he has lived in self-imposed exile. But this is certain that no serious, sustained, methodical effort backed by expert knowledge has been made to test the capacity of Sind for khadi production. Add to this the fact that Sind is a cotton-producing tract and has compulsory primary education as in Hyderabad. If there was khadi atmosphere, sacrificial khadi could always be produced through the numerous schools of Sind. A methodical daily manufacture of yarn under proper inspection in the schools if not even in the colleges should yield good and durable cheap khadi in large quantities. But want of faith is the father of an innumerable brood of doubts.

Congress Position

The courageous chairman of the Kotri Congress Committee told me at its public meeting that he had only twenty members on the Congress register and that if the khadi franchise was to be faithfully and honestly worked, there would be probably only two members on the Congress register. My answer was simple. The chairman was bound to work the franchise honestly and report the result to the Working Committee and, if he had faith in khadi, he should not hesitate to stand alone.

The position of the Congress is no better in the other parts of Sind. Everywhere the Congress is functioning only in name. To paraphrase immortal Tulsidas, the name is greater than its bearer. The Congress instead of permeating every walk of life and every section of society is known only in time of some political excitement. As a whole it can show no steady progress, no constructive activity in this province of sandy desert. Probably the condition is no better in the other provinces. In my opinion therefore the greatest problem before the Congress politician is to restore the Congress to the position of dominance it had attained in 1921. I have no hesitation in saying that if it cannot do so without sacrificing the khadi franchise, the latter should be unhesitatingly sacrificed. Camouflage, dishonesty and inanity should be removed at any cost. My own opinion is that the organizers and leaders have themselves not much faith in khadi. But my opinion has no value in face of the fact, if it is the fact, that the khadi

franchise has not worked. However whilst I am giving my opinion in this matter, I may as well give my further opinion that even if the khadi franchise is removed we are not going to have people clamouring to find their names on the Congress roll.

Congress Squabbles

For the cause of the decline lies so far as Sind is concerned in Congress squabbles. I had little expected to be called upon to help to remove them. As it so happened Sjt. Manilal Kothari was deputed by the Working Committee to supervise elections, etc. He timed this work with that of helping the Memorial collections. I was therefore naturally drawn into the net. At every place visited an hour was set apart for a quiet chat with workers. The burden of their talk almost everywhere was, 'Our work suffers owing to our squabbles; do please settle these before you leave Sind.' The quarrel was over what appeared to me a trifle, division of power. And yet the painful fact is that there is no power to divide, there is no purse, no patronage to share. In all perhaps there are hardly 400 members on the Sind Congress register. There are 45 members of the Provincial Committee. Its Working Committee has 15, far too many in my opinion. If the central body manages with 15 the provincial body should manage with 5. But we have not yet become business-like enough to save all available energy, money and time.

There are two Congress parties in Sind. These function largely for the purpose of owning the executive. Every one of the workers told me that the provincial organization, once homogeneous, was split when the unfortunate Council-entry became a live issue. The question of the separation of Sind later intensified the division. Swami Govindanand represents one party and Jairamdas the other. Swami Govindanand has been chairman for the past 3 years, or more (I forget the number of years). Jairamdas's party has averred many irregularities. Into these I did not go. But at Mirpurkhas where I had a final chat with the workers representing both the groups, I tried to bring the two together. And after surveying the situation, I suggested a compromise which, I confess, was a patchwork, a trial solution. I could observe that the Govindanand group was keen on the Swami remaining President. The Swami himself seemed to me to be insistent on retaining the reins of government in his hands. So far as I could see, Jairamdas had no such desire, though he and his party were desirous of having another who they thought was neutral. I saw that this could not be brought about without forcing

a contested election. A chairman to command respect should, in my opinion, be elected by unanimity or at any rate by an overwhelming majority. The parties appeared to me to be evenly balanced. I was not prepared therefore to advise an election by the party vote. And if Jairamdas and his principal supporters were not eager or even willing to hold the reins, I thought that they should give proof of their unwillingness by letting the Swami's election go uncontested. The election of the executive was then simple. I suggested the central body's convention for adoption, viz., election of those nominated by the chair. Every president should be able and be allowed to choose his own executive. I therefore put the pen in the Swami's hand. He selected five from the Jairamdas group, thus having ten of his own group over five of the rival. I suggested too that he should select the names for the A.I.C.C., thus avoiding all contest over election of office-bearers. I hope that these elections will be held without delay and without friction.

I know that the arrangement has not pleased the Jairamdas group. They would have preferred to act on my original advice to them, viz., to retire altogether from the provincial body and work in those districts where they had a clear, undisputed majority. I asked the Swami which he would prefer, and he said he would like the Jairamdas group to be represented on his executive. I therefore pressed the advice upon the Jairamdas group that it would be greater self-effacement on their part to let their names appear on the executive and to become passive co-operators and let the Swami work out the Congress programme during this year of trial for the nation. I have advised them not to appear at the executive meetings except when the Swami requires their presence and to resign if they find that things are being done or policies followed to which they would not conscientiously lend their names.

Now a word to Swami Govindanand. His sacrifice is unquestioned. His courage is beyond doubt. But I think that he will increase his power for service, if he steps out of office and insists on someone else occupying the chair.

'Servants of Sind'

There was much talk though confined to a few to the effect that the money for the Lalaji Memorial should not all be sent out of Sind. I explained that the signatories to the appeal had already defined the purpose to which the funds would be devoted and that I had no power to alter the purpose. But I pointed out that much of the money could be used for Sind if some eligible Sindhis

offered to join Lalaji's Society which was an all-India organization or if they could submit a good scheme for suppressed classes work. I have assured them that neither the trustees nor Lalaji's Society would neglect the claims of Sind that had given the magnificent response it had to the Lalaji Memorial. Indeed I may inform the Sind public that negotiations are already on foot to bring some Sind workers within the fold of Lalaji's Society. But whilst this discussion was going on Swami Govindanand brought forward the suggestion that there should be a provincial organization, analogous to Lalaji's Society. The idea appealed to me forcibly. There is nothing to prevent anybody having a following from founding such a society. The question of maintenance need cause no worry. A labourer is worthy of his hire. A volunteer working in any national organization works or ought to work always for less than his market price. He need therefore never excite jealousy or suffer privation so long as he gives a good account of himself to the nation. But as Dr. Choithram is the oldest national worker I have known in Sind and as he has dispossessed himself of everything he ever had, I approached him about the Swami's suggestion and he told me they had already some such thing. I have therefore asked him and Jairamdas to draw up a proper scheme, publish it and invite candidates. Though they have resources and influence, and have always had response to their appeals for funds, they are not without misgivings as to the support they might expect for the project. I have urged them as I urge everybody to dismiss such vain fears and to have confidence in themselves and the cause they espouse. I have never known a good cause backed by good men ever to have died for want of funds. Only we often mistake a bad cause for good and bad men for good and then complain that the cause fails for want of funds.

Young India, 21-2-1929

12. A BOY OF MUCH PROMISE

I tender my humble thanks to those who have sent me telegrams and letters of condolence on hearing the news of the death of a grandson of mine. Rasik was only seventeen years old and was from his infancy being trained to become a national servant. He was clever, pushful and ambitious. He was an expert carder and had gone to Delhi to help my son Devdas who is teaching spinning and Hindi at the Jamia Millia. He had grown consi-

derably in wisdom during the past few months. Only a few days before he lay on his death-bed he wrote to me to show how devoted he had become to the *Ramayana* and the *Gita*. He had developed a fine sense of responsibility. With the views I hold on death Rasik's death has caused me no grief, or such grief as I have felt is purely based on selfish considerations. I had built high hopes on getting much national service from Rasik with his body which is now no more. But for him, he has gone because he had outgrown the use of his existing body. And he has gone the blessed way which every one of us must tread. His death therefore only brings me closer to God, makes me realize my responsibility more fully than before. The thought that he died at his post fills me with joy. His death has enabled me to come closer to the Mussalman world. Rasik's Mussalman comrades, I hear from Devdas, were ever kind to him. Dr. Ansari gave him the attention not merely of a first-class physician but bestowed upon him a father's loving care. The principal and staff of the Jamia were never failing in their attention. My respectful thanks are due to them all, to Dr. Sharma of the Tibbia College, to the devoted nurses under whose charge the patient had been placed and to the numerous Hindu friends who helped Devdas in the task of nursing Rasik. But for the loving and unsolicited aid given by his Hindu and Mussalman friends Devdas might easily have been broken by the strain of nursing his patient and ward whom he loved so dearly during the prolonged unconsciousness that had overtaken Rasik. His was a death not to mourn but to envy.

Young India, 21-2-1929

13. CHARKHA SONG

Rev. Donald Miller of Purulia Leper Asylum sends me a cutting from the *Watch Tower* containing Rev. F. W. Ross's description of a Bengali woman leper, an inmate of the Raniganj Leper Asylum. I take the following abstract[1] from Mr. Ross's interesting account including Saro's charkha song:

> Saro is one of our 'characters', a person really worth knowing. When any distinguished visitor comes to our Leper Home the occasion is not complete unless Saro bestows a blessing. . . . "May you be happy, may you increase in wealth and children, may you live as many years as you have hairs on your head, and may your body be as strong as iron." This

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

formula she never varies, so it is perhaps fortunate that no entirely bald person has yet presented himself to be blessed. . . . It was when weaving was being introduced that Saro really blossomed forth. . . . "Did she know how to use a charkha?" . . . Then to our amusement as well as amazement she broke forth into an old song of her youth. . . .

Charkha is my husband, son and grandson;
By the favour of charkha we can now keep elephants:
Hum-m-m, hum-m-m goes the charkha.

Similarity between this folk song and the similar songs I have from Gujarat and other parts of India is striking and remarkable.

Young India, 21-2-1929

14. MY IMPENDING VISIT TO BURMA

It was in 1915 that I last visited Burma, that is, Rangoon only. Since then though I have had many a call I have not had the time to visit that great province. I am now looking forward to visiting it early next month. I am going there principally in the interest of khadi and the Gujarat Vidyapith which has always had munificent support from the Gujarati colony in Burma. I hope also to receive donations for the Lajpat Rai Memorial. And the forthcoming visit gives me added joy in that it will enable me to meet my life-long friend and companion Dr. P. J. Mehta. I hope too to renew the acquaintance of Burmese friends from whom I have already received invitations. But let all the friends know that I have limited time at my disposal. I must return to Gujarat during the last week of March to enable me to attend the Kathiawar Political Conference which meets at Morbi at the end of March under the presidentship of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Moreover let the friends know that I do not possess now a body that used at one time to stand an infinite amount of wear and tear. Add to this the fact that I must attend to the editing of two weeklies and the daily correspondence. The Reception Committee will therefore kindly give me an unbroken period of six hours to attend to the ablutions, food, rest and the editorial and the other writing work. And as I must rise at 4 a.m., the Reception Committee will kindly see to it that no appointments are made after 8 p.m. so as to enable me to retire to bed by 9 p.m.

Young India, 21-2-1929

15. *WILL THIS POOR COW BE SAVED?*

Shri Kashinath Trivedi lives in the Ashram and helps in running the *Hindi Navajivan.* He has in Ujjain a sister aged thirteen years. He does not want that she should be married off at such a young age. But Shri Kashinath says that his father has arranged her marriage with a widower of thirty, who lost his wife in January last. He is a doctor employed in a State in Central India. Kashinathji's father is very orthodox in following social tradition and having failed to find a suitable groom for his daughter he has been obliged to agree to having the poor girl married to a widower. The ceremony is fixed for March 11, 1929. Kashinathji has opposed this alliance in the clearest terms and has written to his father saying that his conscience prevents him from attending the wedding in obedience to his father's wishes. But I have told Kashinathji that mere writing will not do; so he wants to go in person and try to have this sinful affair stopped. It is my prayer to the girl's father that he turn away from his intention. But if he does not do so, if he obdurately sticks to it, I hope all the responsible, thinking men of Central India will help Shri Kashinath in his sacred undertaking and stop the marriage.

One word to the widower doctor who has ventured upon this misadventure. I hope the doctor will realize his duty and purge his mind of the evil thought of marrying this girl, innocent as the cow. It will not be amiss here to remind the doctor that decency and duty demand that he should restrain his animal passions for at any rate one year after the death of his wife.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 21-2-1929

16. LETTER TO D.

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 21, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. Before I received your letter in Delhi, I had already had a talk with Pandit Malaviyaji. I gave him the contents of my letter and he told me that I was quite right in telling you that he, Malaviyaji, could never keep you out because of your bodily infirmity. In any case, he gave you a very good certificate and he said that if I could take you up, he would be delighted as he might find it difficult to accommodate you at once. He recognized that you deserved immediate help. Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla happened to be present at the time of the conversation. He felt interested in it and in you and straightway offered to take you up in his college or high school, I forget which, at Pilani. He needs a good Professor there. And there should be no difficulty in your getting there the salary you want. If you will accept that post, please write to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla, and go there by appointment. His address is: Birla Brothers, Subzimandi, Delhi.

Please keep me informed as to what you are doing. I am forwarding to Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla a copy of this letter as also your second letter. I leave Sabarmati for Burma on the 1st of March, before which I should like to see you fixed up.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13298

17. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 21, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letters. The report about your health and Hemprabha Devi's is bad. I do not like the idea of always harbouring the thought of never taking without giving. Once the attitude of selfishness is destroyed there is never any taking without giving but it is all an unconscious performance. If I always

have to prove to myself that as against one *tola* of rice taken by me from you I have given you 2 *tolas* of dal, I am giving nothing and I am merely taking from you. Because the consciousness that I have given you more than you have given me destroys the value of my gift. Why should it not be a privilege to Hemprabha Devi to be at the Abhoy Ashram and apparently be receiving all service without giving anything in return? Is that how you act towards each other in every little thing weighing exactly to find out whether the balance is preserved? And if you are not, why calculate when it is not husband and wife, but two different organizations in which there is even a little coolness? I wonder if I have made my meaning clear. Of course this argument is based on the assumption that the Abhoy Ashram is ready and willing to harbour Hemprabha Devi.

I am glad about your dietetic experiments. The changes made are good. And now that you are on the track, you are better able to find out than I can the exact qualities of different oils. So far, in my estimation, linseed oil holds the field. But what it is that makes it free from irritation I do not know. And then, if your oil experiment is to be scientific, you must press your own oil, for you never get pure oils in the bazaar. And somehow or other oils don't keep nice for a long time.

You must carefully study the contribution in *Young India* on "Fasting Cure".[1] The writer is a learned man and seems to be a very methodical man. More even than change of climate, I regard fasting as a good cure for Hemprabha Devi and Tarini at any rate. I am not quite sure about you. But it should be judiciously taken. That can be taken only when the superstition that something must be taken inside to keep up the strength is given up. And I would add to the fasting sun-baths, which have got to be taken absolutely naked. Therefore there must be an enclosure. And whilst the fasting cure is taken, bowels must be regulated by the enema. It is remarkable how hard faeces are sometimes received in the discharge of enema water even after three weeks' fasting, as happened in my own case.

I do not know what lead I can give you about khadi beyond what I have written in *Young India*. The scheme[2] I drew up has been accepted. I would simply suggest workers, wherever they are found, carrying out the scheme, or as much of it as is possible, in their own persons.

[1] For Gandhiji's comments on this, *vide* p. 43.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 388-9.

Purging the Congress is not an easy process, but let us hope that it will come. It will have to come if—the foregoing was dictated in Delhi on Tuesday[1]. But every one of us was so busy that even the unfinished letter could not be typed or fairly written in order that it could go to you. I was interrupted when I was dictating the letter because the members of the Working Committee came in. Now to resume the connection—we are to get swaraj through Truth and Ahimsa. Without self-purification, we shall never secure purification of the Government. I can only therefore tell that in my own way, and in the manner I know, I am trying to perform that double purification of my own and that of the Congress. And you may almost take it that the two will go side by side. Imperfections of the Congress are a resultant of the imperfections of each one of us, and as I am the primary mover in this matter, my limitations must count the most against the progress of the Congress in the direction of purification. My only satisfaction is that I am not conscious of leaving a single stone unturned in order to remove my limitations.

I have your telegram regarding the instructions about enforcing the khadi rule. No instructions need be issued just now. I hope to write about this thing in *Young India*. For the present then you must look to the pages of *Young India* about all these matters. Many things might be done through suggestions in *Young India* rather than through the resolutions of the Working Committee.

This is my programme. I leave here on the 1st of March, on the 2nd for certain. I then reach Calcutta either on the 3rd or 4th morning. There might be some alteration about the timings according to the train that I take. My inclination is to come *via* Delhi, by doing which I save Rs. 8 per passenger and save a little time also. I shall look up the time-table. I leave Calcutta on the morning of Tuesday the 5th March for Rangoon. I return from Rangoon during the last week of March, so timing myself as to reach Sabarmati at the latest on the 27th March.

The award about Ram Binod is causing me the greatest anxiety. Rajendra Babu is deeply hurt.[2] And he and his co-workers consider it as a reflection upon themselves. He has tendered for

[1] February 19, 1929

[2] Ram Binod Sinha, a khadi worker of Bihar, was given a loan of Rs. 25,000 for furtherance of his projects. Later he was charged with considering the institution he had built up with public funds as his own proprietary concern. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, who was deputed by Gandhiji to investigate, declared that the affairs of the Bihar branch of the Charkha Sangh were

himself and his companions resignation. I have pooh-poohed the idea, consoled Rajendra Babu and told him that after all I was to be the final authority in this matter and that therefore I should gladly go through every particle of evidence and consider your award in the light of the evidence and then deliver my own. I shall let you know the further developments. You need not worry about this at this stage. I shall seek your assistance when I need it. I hope to be able to tide over the difficulty. But it means an extra load of work at the time when I am heavily laden. But that is inevitable.

Another thing I wanted to write to you about before I went to Sind and forgot. That was in connection with the letter from Niranjan Babu regarding the security resolution of the A.I.S.A. Council. The resolution is not as inelastic as Niranjan Babu imagines. It is sufficiently elastic and subject to that elasticity, I think it is necessary. As our organization grows, security will have to be demanded. And no one may refuse to give security on the score of his being a patriot or a national servant. Security will be and should be waived in the case of those who are beyond suspicion and are of proved integrity but cannot find security. Do you not agree with this proposition?

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1603

18. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 21, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

This letter you had least expected from me, but there it is. I have taken charge of the Committee for Boycott of Foreign Cloth. I must have a whole-time secretary if that thing is to work. And I can think of nobody so suitable like you. Unless therefore you think that the country's interest demands your presence in the Council, I would like you to resign at once and do

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mismanaged. Dr. Rajendra Prasad who was in charge of it protested against this and requested Gandhiji to look into the accounts himself. After some time Gandhiji placed the matter in the hands of Narandas Gandhi who approved the accounts submitted by the Bihar Charkha Sangh.

the secretarial work. You may ask to be relieved at the end of this year. Though of course I would like you to remain on so long as I require you. Nine months' absence from the Council ought not to matter much and may possibly be good for you even from Council standpoint. I do not want to or need to argue with you. Nor have [I] the leisure for it. Read all the pressure into this letter that you can, but after having done so, let you[rs] be the unfettered decision. I shall accept it without complaint even though it may be adverse. If you are at all inclined to entertain my proposal favourably, please come to Sabarmati, if possible, in reply to this letter. I must leave for Burma on the 1st of March —at the latest 2nd — and I shan't be passing through Bombay.

Malkani joined me yesterday at Marwar Junction.

I expect a wire from you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15349

19. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 23, 1929

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. On March 9, I shall be in Burma, April 5 seems feasible. When, at the earliest, do you have to be informed of the decision? On March 1, I shall leave Ahmedabad for Delhi *en route* to Calcutta and leave for Burma from there.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

SHRI BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6591

20. LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 23, 1929

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I have your letter. As for the *Antyaja* teacher you mention, if he puts off marriage and is a man of character, he can be taken in the Vidyapith and a scholarship too may be given to him. If he is agreeable, an application stating all the facts may be forwarded to Kakasaheb along with your covering letter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5577

21. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 23, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got your letter. Do not eat bananas. There is no harm in eating a few apples after boiling them without peeling and then removing the skin, seeds, etc. Pineapple may also be eaten, if it is sweet. The number of fasts should be limited by your capacity to go without food. I do not understand why you cannot have a sun-bath in Calcutta. Even when a sun-bath is not possible you can, and should, take Kuhne bath in the tub. I do believe that it would be better if you can continue to wear a *kachchha*.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6762

22. *OUR HELPLESSNESS*[1]

Sjt. Jethalal Govindji writes from Bijolia (Rajputana):

> It may not be possible for me to leave this place for another six months. Even so about 6,000 people at the least are today spinning their own yarn. Most of them weave their own cloth. But the question of dyeing is a great stumbling-block. Red, yellow and pink colours are a great necessity. Today we have to depend on foreign dyes. If this dependence continues, the exploiting spirit of the middlemen is likely to betray us and drive people to the bazaar to purchase their coloured cloth. To consolidate the khadi work already done, it will be necessary to teach people the use of indigenous dyes. Some way out of the difficulty must be found and suggestions in this behalf may be invited from the readers of *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Unless this is done there can be no ending of our present helpless state.

I see no reason why it should not be possible to place home-made dyes within the easy reach of all and I hope that those who know this art will co-operate towards this end. But I cannot help uttering a warning to khadi lovers like Sjt. Jethalal. He has set before him an ambitious ideal that did not obtain in our country probably at any time even in the past. The cultivator had always to depend for certain necessaries of life on the middleman and it seems to me that this is just as it should be. Inter-dependence is and ought to be as much the ideal of man as self-sufficiency. Man is a social being. Without inter-relation with society he cannot realize his oneness with the universe or suppress his egotism. His social interdependence enables him to test his faith and to prove himself on the touchstone of reality. If man were so placed or could so place himself as to be absolutely above all dependence on his fellow-beings he would become so proud and arrogant as to be a veritable burden and nuisance to the world. Dependence on society teaches him the lesson of humility. That a man ought to be able to satisfy most of his essential needs himself is obvious; but it is no less obvious to me that when self-sufficiency is carried to the length of isolating oneself from society it almost amounts to sin. A man cannot be-

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-2-1929. The translation is by Pyarelal.

come self-sufficient even in respect of all the various operations from the growing of cotton to the spinning of the yarn. He has at some stage or other to take the aid of the members of his family. And if one may take help from one's own family why not from one's neighbours? Or otherwise what is the significance of the great saying, 'The world is my family'?

Deep at the root of Sjt. Jethalal's distress I find a lurking distrust of the dye-sellers. Why should it be taken for granted that the middlemen are bound to betray us? The khadi movement stands for an all-round purification. It requires us to establish contact with every sphere of social life and to exercise a purifying influence. We do not want to take away from the middleman his occupation, but only to give a new orientation to it and to change his mental outlook. We must have an abiding faith in the middlemen, and in their developing one day a high sense of business morality and a burning patriotism. Even today instances of such ideal businessmen are not lacking. Fanatical excess is a thing always to be shunned. The 'middle path' is the royal road. Self-dependence is a necessary ideal so long as and to the extent that it is an aid to one's self-respect and spiritual discipline. It becomes an obsession and a hindrance when it is pushed beyond that limit. On the other hand interdependence when it is not inconsistent with one's self-respect is necessary to bring home to man the lesson of humility and the omnipotence of God. One must strike a golden mean between these two extremes. A fanaticism that refuses to discriminate is the negation of all ideal.

Young India, 21-3-1929

23. *WHAT DID I DO IN DELHI?*

From Sind I went to Delhi. I stayed there for three days. I met His Excellency the Viceroy also. Naturally therefore people are anxious to know what happened there. However, if people were truly self-reliant, they would have no such curiosity. What if I met the Viceroy? But as a nation, we have been unable to cultivate such indifference. We are still awed by the grandeur of British rule. As long as this is so, we shall continue to be inquisitive about the Viceroy's activities, his utterances, and what persons who have met him have seen and heard. So I should satisfy this curiosity in some measure.

When I went to Delhi, I did not have the slightest inkling of Vithalbhai's scheme. Motilalji invited me to Delhi in connection with the boycott of foreign cloth and the meeting of the Congress Working Committee was postponed. Putting up with the inconvenience, I wired to Motilalji that I would be in Delhi from the 17th to the 19th. On reaching Delhi I came to know of Vithalbhai's scheme.

Since entering the Legislative Assembly Shri Vithalbhai has rendered the most efficient service to the nation that any Indian is capable of rendering. By his bold conduct he has brought credit to his office and to his country. He does not let go a single opportunity to display his independence, his fearlessness and his patriotism and in spite of this he maintains the impartiality and self-restraint befitting his position. He believes that even if he could do nothing else it would be enough if he could bring together the leaders holding different views and it would be even better if he could bring them in touch with the Viceroy. So he took advantage of my visit to Delhi and invited His Excellency the Viceroy and some leaders to tea. As his guest, my presence there was natural. The Brahmin's duty is to perform the marriage ceremony, not to run the household. Similarly, Vithalbhai brought together leaders holding divergent views, but except for drinking tea and indulging in casual chit-chat what can such a gathering do? Vithalbhai had desired a great deal. He made attempts to broach the subject through jokes and broad hints. But these attempts have their limits. So one may say that we did not discuss the subject which I believe he wanted us to discuss. In other words, the tea-party brought incompatibles together or, to use an English expression, the ice was broken; in the language of the Rajputs, they drank *casumbo*[1]. Or to use plain speech, they got rid of mutual fear. The reader must realize that nothing more happened. If he is sensible, he will know that anyone who says something else has happened is naive. In fact it could not have been otherwise. Our salvation lies in our own hands. A fruitful meeting can only take place when we have gathered strength and become conscious of it. Today we lack self-confidence. We have achieved nothing. And so long as we do not accomplish something which would give us self-confidence, all the meetings we may arrange will not bring about the desired result. We must not hope for it. So my summing up of the Delhi meeting is that people should forget it and get on to doing some work or other for

[1] An opium preparation drunk at social or formal get-together

swaraj. Considering the matter thus, I wish the readers would ask not what happened at the party but rather what happened in the Working Committee. They should not rest content with the report appearing in newspapers. Hence I shall come to the point. The main discussion in the Working Committee was about the boycott of foreign cloth. It was in that connection that I was invited to Delhi. I placed before the Committee my experience of Kotri which I have related in an article on Sind.[1] I suggested that, if the members of the Working Committee agreed, the clause about khadi should be deleted and that we should take the risk of doing so before the Congress session. No one was prepared to take that risk. All felt that the question of doing away with khadi could never be raised when there was a talk of boycotting foreign cloth. Everyone also felt that the boycott of foreign cloth was the best weapon we had at present. The scheme which I have already published was endorsed unanimously. A special committee was appointed for the purpose. And it was authorized to nominate the rest of the members. I was appointed Chairman of the committee and I accepted it with humility.[2] But I must confess that I do not have the strength or the self-confidence to bring credit to that office. That I lack self-confidence does not mean that I have softened on boycott. But I have no idea what support we can get from people in this respect. All the same I prayerfully agreed to shoulder the responsibility of the office which I could not have very well refused. I hope that the Gujaratis will lighten my burden by sharing this responsibility with me and in this everyone — men and women, young and old —will be able to take part. Those who possess articles of foreign cloth should voluntarily discard them and if they wish to go a step further, they should send these to me or to the Provincial Congress Committee. If the sender does not give any instructions, the clothes will be burnt. Those who do not send the clothes should themselves burn them. They should give up the use of such clothes for good and use khaddar instead. If the people whole-heartedly accept this boycott there will certainly be some scarcity of cloth, but to avoid this we must be economical in our use of cloth and use only the minimum amount of khadi that we need. If people do so, there will be sufficient khadi to meet everyone's requirements and we can prove the efficacy of boycott of foreign cloth without any difficulty. People should begin with

[1] *Vide* pp. 10-2.
[2] *Vide* p. 20.

themselves, and then approach their neighbours, friends and relatives who use foreign cloth. If people take upon themselves the responsibility, the task of boycotting foreign cloth will be relatively easy. So much for the boycott of foreign cloth. Another important resolution was one sponsored by Bharat Bhushan Malaviyaji. It was to the effect that processions should be taken out everywhere on the 10th of March and resolutions should be passed about the Nehru Report. The idea behind the resolution is that unless the Nehru Report is accepted, people will not be satisfied. The 10th of March is a Sunday. On the following Sunday people should propagate khadi by selling it from door to door and holding exhibitions. The Sunday after that should be spent mainly in prohibition work. And the Sunday following, in lathi display and other such ancient sports. In this way these three types of constructive work should be undertaken on three consecutive Sundays. The resolution of 10th March is not to be repeated every month. No one should interpret this resolution to mean that since all Sundays of a month are devoted to khadi, prohibition and sports, nothing has to be done on week days. As I have said above, the day-to-day programme of khadi has been framed by the Working Committee. For the remaining two activities and for the ones designed to develop strength in people, different organizations should frame their own programmes. The object of Malaviyaji's resolution is to extract from people work connected with these three things on three different Sundays of every month.

Other resolutions were also passed in the Working Committee. But I cannot cite them in answer to the question posed in the title. But the work in Delhi does not end with the two important resolutions already mentioned. I do not attach less importance to the discussions I had with Mr. Jinnah and others on the Hindu-Muslim question. I cannot of course point to any immediate result of these discussions. However, it is my firm belief that such efforts can never be in vain. This was the reason behind Motilalji's calling me to Delhi. It is necessary to inform the readers that these efforts were limited in scope. They were within the framework of the Nehru Report. We discussed fully how to meet with the complaints of Muslims with regard to the Nehru Report. We came to the conclusions that although changes may be made in it, with the approval of the people when the time comes, for the present and for this year this Report should, from the people's point of view, be considered a final and definite demand and wherever it is accepted it should be done

unconditionally. Then alone can the consolidation of the people's strength be achieved through the Report. It can never be achieved through something regarding which no determined public opinion has been created. The rule applies to all types of struggles. But it is indispensable for satyagraha, that is, non-co-operation. Satyagraha strengthens and is possible only over an issue on which a definite opinion has been formed. How can we insist on truth regarding something which can be varied at will? For anything which is variable a potent weapon like satyagraha which is constant for all time cannot be used. That is its beauty and also its limitation.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-2-1929

24. SUNSET AT MORNING

There have been letters and telegrams of condolence on the death of my grandson Rasik. Instead of replying individually I have thought it proper to express my gratitude to all of them through *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Those who have sent messages will forgive me for not being able to reply to them individually.

It was not my intention to notice this death, but as the news appeared in the newspapers and people have written to me, it seems proper for me to take some note of it.

As for me, the death of friends and relatives does not hurt as much as it used to. All religions forbid fear of death or grief over death. Yet we are afraid of death and grieve over the death of a dear one. And if someone dies in the prime of youth, there is greater grief. Truly speaking, death is God's eternal blessing. The body which is used up falls and the bird within flies away. So long as the bird does not die, the question of grief does not arise.

When despite this there is grief on the death of a relative, it only shows our selfishness and delusion. For the past many years, I have been trying to rid myself of this delusion. Hence the shock on hearing news of Rasik's death was not severe. What shock there was, was due to selfishness.

Rasik was seventeen years of age. He had been under my care from childhood and, like other boys, he was being given training in national service. He was an active, clever and bright boy. He was sturdy and brave. He was always first in taking

up work that called for courage. During the past one year his boisterousness was turning into strength. He was a student of the *Gita*. He was an expert carder and spinner. Once or twice he took to spinning continuously for twenty-four hours—and did it successfully.

My youngest son Devdas is working at the Jamia Millia in Delhi. He teaches spinning and Hindi to the students there. About four months back, he had asked for the services of Rasik and another grandson of mine, Navin, to teach carpentry and weaving. Both Rasik and Navin had gone to Delhi and were doing good work there. Earlier, because of his keen desire to serve, Rasik had gone to Bardoli. He became popular wherever he went. The selfish thought that Providence took away such a promising worker made me grieve; but then I thought that Providence is always just and is therefore kind and it would get work out of Rasik. By this faith I have been consoled.

After going to Delhi, Rasik turned a devotee. When I was on my way back *via* Delhi after the Congress session, Rasik had told me that he had entered his seventeenth year. At that time, like many other boys, he took certain vows: first to eat only three things at a meal; secondly, to have only three meals a day, and thirdly, to complete within two years the study of the *Ramayana* with commentary. Knowing his restless temperament, I had warned him. But he told me that he found nothing difficult in this and that he liked to read the *Ramayana*. I was pleased.

With reference to these vows, Rasik wrote to me the following letter[1], on the 18th of January. On the 8th of February he passed away.

Very few get the care that Rasik received. He was a dear nephew and student of Devdas and had received his matchless service. Dr. Ansari was not merely his physician; he was like a father to him. Dr. Sharma was always at his beck and call. Two nurses were appointed by the doctors to nurse him. Muslim friends from the Jamia left nothing to be desired so far as nursing him was concerned. The Hindus who learnt of his illness were at his service, day and night. I am indebted to all of them. Rasik had realized at such an early age the value of service and duty and engrossed himself in it; taken difficult vows, regarded them as easy to fulfil and read the *Gita* with enthusiasm having vowed to finish study of the *Ramayana* in two years' time. He met death while cherishing such noble sentiments and receiving unsurpassed

[1] Not translated here

care. Everyone will envy such a death. And if a grandfather like me feels grieved at this, it is purely selfishness and infatuation.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-2-1929

25. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter as also your telegram. Nothing concrete could possibly result from the tea-party. But you will see my account[1] of it in *Navajivan* issued today. Get somebody to read it to you.

Of course the auditor and inspector will have to go to Sind also.

I did discuss the Sind affairs with Motilalji. He was glad that I had gone into the thing and agreed that wherever there was irregularity, it should be put down. My note in *Young India* has, I hope, cleared the matter.[2]

With reference to your telegram, I am glad you are coming. I am leaving on the 1st March for Burma *via* Delhi. You should therefore try to come on before the 28th. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15353

26. LETTER TO GIRDHARILAL

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

DEAR LALA GIRDHARILAL,

I have your two letters. It is difficult to say beforehand that whenever I go to Delhi I shall stay with you. Whenever I go there, it is a special purpose that takes me. And my residence is determined by the purpose, as it was during my last visit to Delhi.

The Punjab is included in my programme. And I hope to be there in June. But this should be fixed up with Jawaharlal.

[1] *Vide* pp. 24-8.
[2] *Vide* pp. 11-2.

I must not discuss your long letters about what I have written. You will discuss them personally when we meet.

I understand what you say about the Exhibition. I have no doubt that the provincial committee is quite competent to make all necessary arrangements about it. But I have no doubt also that the Provincial Congress Committee will make a thorough mess of it so far as khadi is concerned and so far also as the swadeshi part of it is concerned. But I have said my say.

Your suggestion about the other conferences not being held at the time of the Congress is worthy of consideration. There is much to be said in its favour. I have already written at length in reply to Dr. Satyapal's letter.

Your remarks about Mahantism, political mutts, and Udyoga Mandir are interesting. We must agree to differ on this point. You have evidently not cared to remember that Udyoga Mandir is an humbler name adopted because of our weaknesses and when we feel that we have somewhat surmounted our weaknesses, we propose to revert to the original name.[1]

Equally interesting is your homily about younger men.

Yours sincerely,

LALA GIRDHARILAL
DIWAN BHAWAN
DELHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15346

[1] In his letter dated February 18, 1929, the addressee had written: "I am dead against personal deification and canonizing of institutions. Personal regard, respect and affection are things apart. We have had too much of 'mahantism' in this country. It is time that we protest against the revival of this policy. Religious 'mutts' abounding all over the country are bad enough. We cannot afford to add to them by creating political mutts now. Anything that savours of this unreal attitude of sacredness or sanctimoniousness will find young men revolting. For this reason I am sorry for the change of the name of 'Satyagraha Ashram' to 'Udyoga Mandir'."

27. *LETTER TO JASWANTRAI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

DEAR LALA JASWANTRAI,

I have your letter of the 13th instant. Acharya Gidwani saw me during my visit to Mirpurkhas and talked to me about the *Antyaja* boys and khadi and told me that I was to expect a letter from you. The letter I got only on my return to Sabarmati from Delhi. I hardly think that I need interfere with you and Acharya Gidwani. I am sure you will do just what is right. I would have shown your letter to Sjt. Manilal Kothari if he had been here. As it is, he is in attendance upon his father who is ailing in Wadhwan.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. LALA JASWANTRAI
JASWANTRAI & SONS
COMMISSION AGENTS
KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 13367

28. *LETTER TO KANTHIMATHI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

MY DEAR KANTI,

I have your letter. If your mother-in-law is so unreasonable, I suppose it is better that you let her buy two Bangalore saries. You will wear them only when you find it absolutely necessary for the sake of your mother-in-law. I am sure that if you persist, you will infect your surroundings with your faith in khadi.

Yours sincerely

SMT. KANTHIMATHI
C/o DR. C. B. RAMA RAO
KANTHI NIVAS
BASAVANGUDI
BANGALORE CITY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15012

29. *KHADI AND SWARAJ*[1]

[February 24, 1929][2]

Because mills must depend for their existence on the goodwill of the Government whom people resist and are therefore bound to fail the nation at the most critical moment and

Because mills are always dependent upon foreign machinery and largely foreign skill.

From the original: C.W. 5345. Courtesy: Mirabehn

30. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have now carefully looked at your notes on khadi, and your chart. The chart is quite good. The khadi notes are also good. You will touch up the spelling and wherever there is the slightest doubt, look up the dictionary. There must be no room to correct your spelling and in anything you get printed, there must be no error.

I have added two paragraphs[3] to your note on mills. The rest is all right. I am not quite clear that the notes may not bear your signature. You will therefore discuss with Rajendra Babu or use your own judgment. They must be authorized notes; therefore, if they do not bear your signature, they must be from the Bihar branch of the All-India Spinners' Association.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI

From the original: C.W. 5345. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9401

[1] The two paragraphs were added to answers drafted by Mirabehn to the question: "Why can khadi help us to win swaraj better than Indian mill-cloth?" For Mirabehn's draft, *vide* Appendix I.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

[3] *Vide* the preceding item.

31. LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I had your telegram, which relieved me. You quite realize why I had to decide upon going to Burma. I am now making every preparation to fulfil the obligation about Andhra in April. If I had not the Kathiawar Political Conference demanding my presence, I should have come directly to Andhra from Burma. As it is I shall leave Gujarat for Andhra Desh during the first week of April. Please draw up a provisional programme and let me have it. I am wanted to be present at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Allahabad on the 14th of May. You will therefore disengage me from Andhra so as to enable me to reach Allahabad on the 14th of May.

Here is a typical letter from Nellore. I enclose also a copy of my reply.[1]

I am at the Ashram up to the 28th instant. I leave on the 1st March for Delhi, reaching there on the 2nd. I have to stop there before I can get the connecting train for Calcutta. The Delhi address is: Care Lakshmi Narayan Gadodia, Gadodia Stores, Chandni Chowk, Delhi. I reach Calcutta on the night of the 3rd March. I am in Calcutta on the 4th which is Monday. My address at Calcutta will be: C/o Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur (E.B. Rly.). On the morning of the 5th March I leave for Rangoon. My address at Rangoon is: C/o Dr. P. J. Mehta, 14 Moghul Street, Rangoon. I am giving you these particulars so that you can establish communication with me at these different places if necessary.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA
GUNTUR

From a photostat: S.N. 15352

[1] This is not available.

32. *LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[*February 24, 1929*][1]

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

There is one Mahant Gopalnath Bholanath in Junagadh. He is an *Antyaja*. His address is: Ravra Mandap's Premises, Inside Vagheshwari Gate. It is a place sacred to the *Antyajas*. At the place there is a well whose construction has been left unfinished. It has been so because, as he says, there is no money to complete it, and nobody to do the work. If you know anyone at Junagadh through whom we can get the well completed, I can make arrangements for the money required. If you can help in this, please write to me immediately. Let me also know your estimate of the expenditure.

Champa must be doing well. I am leaving for Burma on 1st and hope to reach in time for the Conference[2].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5688

33. *TELEGRAM TO F. W. WILSON*[3]

[On or after *February 24, 1929*][4]

WHILST I REJOICE WITH ENGLISHMEN OVER KING'S RECOVERY I MAY NOT ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH MOVEMENT THAT HAS NECESSARILY POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AND THAT WOULD IMPLICITLY COMMIT ME TO A SYSTEM FOR WHICH KING STANDS AND WHICH MY LIFE IS PLEDGED TO DESTROY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15351

[1] From the postmark of clearance

[2] Kathiawar Political Conference

[3] F. W. Wilson, editor of *Pioneer*, Allahabad, had in a telegram suggested starting a thanksgiving fund, on the recovery of King Emperor, which would be utilized for the "poor and needy throughout India" and sought Gandhiji's permission to publish his name in the list of subscribers.

[4] The telegram under reply was received at Sabarmati Ashram on February 24, 1929.

34. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

Silence Day [Before *February 25, 1929*][1]

DEAR SISTER,

Bhai Chhaganlal writes that you have again had a relapse. As you are resolved not to go out of the Ashram for treatment all I can say is may God give you peace. Sickness and death are ever with the body. Since we revere the *Gita* why should we grieve over illness or death? Of course, we should not deliberately fall ill.

Should you feel like going out of the Ashram for a change of air there would be no shame or sin in doing so. "May Tulsidas by whatever means find refuge at the feet of the Lord."[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2547

35. LETTER TO JASWANTRAI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 25, 1929

DEAR LALA JASWANTRAIJI,

I am sending by separate registered post receipts for the individual members who paid for the Lalaji Memorial Fund at Karachi. The total amount for which receipts have been sent comes to Rs. 40,935-15-0. This is according to the list you sent to us and to the Treasurer at Calcutta. In sending the receipts the treasurer has asked us to request you to remit the balance amount of Rs. 935-15-0 at an early date.

What have you done with ornaments? If you have disposed of them, please let us know the amount realized thereby.

We are leaving Ahmedabad on the 1st March for Rangoon *via* Delhi and Calcutta. Our address at Delhi is: C/o Lakshmi Narayan Gadodia, Gadodia Stores, Chandni Chowk, Delhi,

[1] From the reference to the addressee's health and from Gandhiji's addressing her as "Dear Sister" this letter seems to have been written before the letter to her dated February 25, 1929.

[2] From a verse from Tulsidas's *Vinaya Patrika*

where we stay on the 2nd March. And our Calcutta address is: C/o Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur (E. B. Rly.), where we reach on the 3rd night and stay till 5th morning. We take steamer on the 5th morning for Rangoon which place we reach on the 8th March. Our address at Rangoon is: C/o Dr. P. J. Mehta, 14 Moghul Street, Rangoon.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. (Receipts sent by separate registered packet)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13368

36. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Monday [February 25, 1929][1]

CHI. MIRA,

I daily receive your instructive letters. Your work bears the promise of a big future. It is good that you are working along the line of least resistance. The introduction of Yogendrababu's wife makes your miniature ashram a good model to work upon.

I leave here on 1st March and go through Delhi. Probably Patna is on the way. The Delhi route is the quickest and the cheapest. I reach Calcutta Sunday night, 3rd March. 4th March is the silence day. I leave Calcutta Tuesday morning, 5th March.

Balkrishna came here yesterday. He will attend to the weaving department. Fresh effort is being made to put the *Gita* reading on a firm footing.

Chhotelal is still an uncertain factor but he is slaving away as usual. Mahadev will accompany me.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5347. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9403

[1] The letter appears to have been written on the Monday preceding March 1, 1929, that is, February 25.

37. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

Silence Day [February 25, 1929][1]

CHI. GANGADEVI,

I was very glad to have your letter. Take a sun-bath early in the morning and only as long as you can stand it. No giddiness should occur. Rash on the body is a good sign. I cannot understand the cause of the pain in the bones. If you find it tiring to sit up for a whole hour, sit up for half an hour. Certainly you should feel thirsty. Drink plenty of boiled water. It will be good to add four or five grains of soda bicarb. We shall see later about your taking sunlight passing through glass. Keep me informed about your condition. You have written nothing about Totaramji's eye. Why?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2542

38. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 26, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letters. I want to send you a longish thing, but I must not now. I have wired to you about Sitla Sahai.[2] I have wired[3] to you today that I shall be passing through Allahabad and that I shall be in Delhi for seven hours. I wish that we could see each other either in Delhi or in Allahabad and you may even travel some distance with me if it is possible.

I am trying to procure the services of Jairamdas as Secretary for the boycott committee.[4] He is coming here tomorrow.

[1] From Gandhiji's recommending of sun-baths to the addressee this letter seems to have been written on the silence day preceding the letter dated March 4, 1929 to Chhaganlal Joshi.

[2] The telegram is not available. Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter dated February 20 had asked whether Gandhiji would like Sitla Sahai to go to the Ashram immediately or to spend the next month or six weeks in U.P. making arrangements for Gandhiji's tour and then go to the Ashram.

[3] The telegram is not available.

[4] *Vide* pp. 20-1.

If he consents, of course, he has to leave the Council at least for this year. We shall talk about the future programme of the boycott committee. About the use of the purses to be presented to me, what you have said is quite correct. It will be predominantly used for khadi work. The tour was to be undertaken for khadi, but naturally I will now talk about the constructive programme. But if the people give the money unconditionally as they should, and if you think that some other use might be made of a part of the purses, we shall discuss about it. But you may put down this also as an item for discussion when we meet, lest I forget when we meet.

I would like you not to arrange a hurricane tour but give more time to a few centres where people from surrounding places may gather, and not many functions at one village. If you have not read my note[1] about this in *Young India* please do read it now.

Yours sincerely,
A. SUBBIAH
for BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library; also S.N. 15354

39. *LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 26, 1929

I have your telegram. I am publishing it with a note.[2] But I repeat my complaint. Whatever the cause, you fail to back your appeal with facts and figures from week to week. You may not plead want of time or if you want to plead want of time, then don't expect any response. You may not have the cake and eat it. I myself after the publication of the appeal was utterly in the dark as to what was happening. Surely Santanam or whoever is in charge can say from week to week how much relief has been given, what kind of relief has been given and to whom it has been given. You are talking about volunteers going to the villages taking notes. Some telling experience might be given. The condition of the homes of these people might be given. A hundred things suggest themselves to me. How do you expect people

[1] *Vide* p. 15.
[2] *Vide* pp. 48-9.

to respond when very telling figures [are not] thrust upon their attention from week to week, indeed from day to day? You can say if you send such reports they won't be published.

You will see from my notes that I have justified your telegram somehow or other. My complaint against you is that the telegram was not absolutely inevitable. The facts related in the telegram do not suddenly come under your notice. You can send telegrams about landslips, overflowing flood to a terrible extent, but you cannot telegraph about the daily happenings in a famine area, unless you send news to a distant newspaper from day to day. Do please wake up. I will find the Rs. 5,000/- somehow or other. But what is the use? That won't be in answer to your appeal, that would be merely from friend to friend and that is not how you want this relief, if I understand it rightly. And if you wanted it that way, you could simply have telegraphed: you must send me Rs. 5,000/- for my starving people. *Verb. sap.*

SJT. C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR
GANDHI ASHRAM
TIRUCHENGODU

From a photostat: S.N. 15355

40. *LETTER TO D. G. AMBEKAR*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 27, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I had your previous letter also. But owing to tour in Sind and intense pressure, the letter remained unanswered.

I am not inclined to believe that Sjt. Avari is denied the use of khadi because he wants to wear khadi. If you have any written documents about it, I should like to have them and if I know the facts, I might be able to guide you.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. G. AMBEKAR
SECRETARY
NAGPUR TOWN CONGRESS, ARMS ACT SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE
NEAR DAJI SCHOOL
CIRCLE NO. 8, NAGPUR

From a microfilm: S.N. 15014

41. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 27, 1929

SJT. GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
TREASURER, LALAJI MEMORIAL FUND
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE PLACE
CALCUTTA

DEAR SIR,

Attached please find the supplementary list[1] of donations for Lalaji Fund from Karachi. The total amounts to Rs. 45,000/- out of which Rs. 43,223/- have been so far realized in cash.

Rs. 40,000/- have already been sent to you. I now enclose a cheque for Rs. 3,223/- for the cash balance. As soon as I receive the balance from the Treasurer at Karachi I shall remit you the same.

Kindly arrange to issue receipts for the individual members and also a cutcha receipt for me for my office file.

Yours sincerely,

Encl. 1 cheque (No. A/cc. 11109 on Imperial Bank of India)

From a microfilm: S.N. 13369

42. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
February 27, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

This letter introduces you to a young friend B. B. Desai from whom when I was convalescent I received kind treatment in his bungalow at a seaside place. Young Desai is an earnest student of French. He has been professor of French in a Bombay College. He wants however to increase his knowledge of French and therefore wishes to place himself under the influence of French

[1] This is not reproduced here.

savants. If you could give him any help in this direction I shall appreciate it.

Yours sincerely,

M. ROMAIN ROLLAND
VILLA OLGA
VILLENEUVE
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat: S.N. 15015

43. *LETTER TO CHAMAN*

SABARMATI,
February 27, 1929

BHAISHRI CHAMAN,

I have your letter. I feel that you have seen many things with a prejudiced eye. If all that you write is correct, I see no reason for your faith in me. Just as we know the tree from the seed and the fruit, you should know me through my work.

If Chhaganlal, Panditji[1] and the others are bad and useless, how can I who am responsible for bringing them, be good? Maybe I have made a mistake. But after having been warned by someone like you, should I not be able to see the mistake? If I am unable to do so you should say the same thing about me which you say about my co-workers. Similarly, if there is nothing in the spinning-wheel, can there be anything in me? But I am sure that your opinions about the Ashram, about my co-workers and about the spinning-wheel will change in the end. It is wrong of us to believe that those who do not do what we want are bad.

Remember the couplet: "All things, animate and inanimate, have both virtues and defects." I hope you are well. Restrain your anger.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15372

[1] N. M. Khare

44. A MARVELLOUS FASTING CURE

As I had and still have no desire to turn *Young India* into a herald of health, not because it would be wrong to do so, but because I have neither the time nor the qualifications for the task and because I undertook the charge of *Young India* in the interest of the movement for India's freedom, I have hesitated, for the four weeks that the report[1] referred to by K. G. D. has been on my file, to give it publicity. I have twice read the report and it reads so true and is so well written that I can no longer resist K.G.D.'s appeal. As the reader is aware I believe in fasting both for its spiritual and its medicinal value. I daily advise it at the Udyoga Mandir and almost invariably with beneficial results. I know that if the medical profession courageously popularized fasting among their patients, there would be infinitely less suffering than there is now and that many would be saved who now die through the drug and the feeding treatment. I therefore gladly find room for K.G.D.'s accurately-drawn report of his wife's case. I must however warn others interested in fasting and kindred experiments against hoping that their reports too would find room in *Young India* if they sent them. They are at liberty however to send authentic reports for my private information and guidance.

Young India, 28-2-1929

45. THE DELHI VISIT

I have dealt with the Speaker's party elsewhere[2] but I would like to enlist the reader's serious attention for the business that took me to Delhi. The Working Committee needed my presence for understanding my scheme of boycott of foreign cloth before passing it. The Committee was in earnest about it. I had therefore to interrupt my programme after Sind and go to Delhi at Pandit Motilalji's call. The Working Committee discussed it at great length and finally accepted the scheme without any material alteration. A special committee has been formed to give effect to the scheme. Not without much hesitation have I

[1] This is not reproduced here.

[2] *Vide* p. 46.

shouldered the burden of being its chairman. My hesitation was due to the feeling that those who could, if they meant, bring about the boycott would not respond and that probably they did not believe in khadi. But I saw too that I had no business to refuse to shoulder the responsibility, merely because of a feeling which after all might have no foundation in fact. Mine was but to try.

The scheme is now before the country. The Committee will try to bring it home to everyone it can reach. But meanwhile it is so incredibly simple that everyone can enforce it in his or her own person. Let everyone who has any foreign cloth in his or her possession discard it and replace it by *genuine* khadi. Too much stress cannot be put upon the adjective genuine. The scheme therefore provides that no khadi should be considered genuine unless it is certified by the All-India Spinners' Association. This is easily done by merely buying from depots certified by the All-India Spinners' Association or from trustworthy persons. Let no one belittle his or her own individual effort. Complete boycott means an aggregate of individual effort. Every yard of foreign cloth given up brings the boycott nearer, every yard of khadi bought relieves some distress. Even as constant dropping wears away stones so will constant and continuing boycott of foreign cloth stop the greatest drain from India and bring about all the inevitable implications of such boycott. It is therefore sinful to sit still and do nothing on the plea of futility of individual action and wait for a call from a committee or for action on a national scale. It is the individual effort that will have precipitated the national response whenever it comes.

Pandit Malaviyaji's resolution too deserves the earnest attention of every national organization and national worker. It seeks to rivet the nation's attention on the Nehru Report on the 10th March which is a Sunday. During this year of grace that Report is the national war-cry. The swaraj of our coining is to be found in the Nehru Report. Self-respect demands that we should work for the attainment of swaraj as defined in it. We shall find ourselves unready on the 1st January 1930, if we have not ceaselessly worked for the acceptance of the Nehru Report till the midnight of December 31st next. But it may be asked what is the use of harping on the Nehru Report when many Mussalmans and many Sikhs are intensely dissatisfied with it? My answer is: no document has received so much support as this and no other is likely to receive greater support. And when I say that we should concentrate upon securing approval of the Report, I do

not exclude the possibility of alterations in it. What I however exclude is the possibility of alterations in it at the point of the bayonet. Alterations will be and must be made wherever justice demands it. It was for that reason that the Convention instead of being wound up was adjourned *sine die*. And these alterations should be made not now but when the Report has gained weight enough to compel acceptance, and when it has arrived at that stage it may not be delivered for acceptance without such alterations as may be absolutely necessary and as may be agreed upon by mutual consent. Subject to this reservation, I submit that the Nehru Report should be presented at all public meetings for unconditional acceptance without mental reservations. After all that Report is the result of much labour and in the nature of an award delivered by arbitrators. No party may lightly repudiate it. I therefore whole-heartedly support the proposal that the Nehru Scheme be the subject of resolutions all over the country on the 10th proximo.

The other parts of Malaviyaji's resolution follow as a matter of course. The other parts expect the nation to concentrate on particular Sundays during every month on particular items of constructive programme. It does not mean that on week days we should go to sleep; but it means that on the Sundays in question we should concentrate more fully than on week days on the matters for which those Sundays may be specifically reserved. The Congress has seriously devised the constructive programme as a sanction behind the Nehru Report. It behoves us therefore to give full effect to the Congress programme which Malaviyaji's resolution seeks to do in part.

Young India, 28-2-1929

46. *TO THE BURMA CONGRESS COMMITTEE*

The Congress Working Committee has asked me in terms of its resolution to have the finances of the Burma Congress Committee audited and to do the inspection myself. I invite the Committee therefore to keep its accounts ready and have them audited by an auditor of standing and to have its register and everything else in order at the time of my arrival in Burma, so that I might carry on my work without any loss of time. What would be required is a register containing the names of original members with their addresses, occupations and the amounts received

from them, a digest of work done by the Committee, first in respect of Congress resolutions, secondly of the work done for the Congress, a register of volunteers, the amount of donations received in the Committee's office, description of the office staff, despatch book and a note upon the working of the khadi rule in the Congress constitution.

Young India, 28-2-1929

47. *NOTES*

The Speaker's Party

No one has asked me what was done by the Working Committee or what happened during the talks with Mr. Jinnah and other Mussalman friends. Everyone is eager to know what happened at the tea-party given by that marvel of a Speaker—Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel. This eagerness to know what happened there at the tea-party because H.E. the Viceroy was there shows that we still expect more from Englishmen than from ourselves. The change from 1920 to now is no doubt great in spite of the so-called set-back since 1922 but it is not yet great enough to inspire us with self-confidence. The want of it is the greatest stumbling-block in our progress towards our goal.

The party was the Speaker's creation. Though he never hides his colours he does not overstep the constitutional limits of his office and within those limits he never misses a single opportunity of serving the cause to which he is wedded—attainment of swaraj. He therefore brought about this party to break the ice as it were. But there cannot be much breaking of ice at a private, informal tea-party. And in my opinion, it cannot lead to any real advance or action unless both are ready. We know that we are not yet ready. England will never make any advance so as to satisfy India's aspirations till she is forced to it. British rule is no philanthropic job, it is a terribly earnest business proposition worked out from day to day with deadly precision. The coating of benevolence that is periodically given to it merely prolongs the agony. Such occasional parties are therefore good only to the extent of showing that the bringing together of parties will be easy enough when both are ready for business. Meanwhile let the reader rest satisfied with the assurance that no political significance attaches to the event. The party was one of Speaker Patel's many creditable freaks.

A Young Octogenarian's Offer[1]

Babu Hardayal Nag is a leader in Bengal. He is an octogenarian but like Dr. Besant has the energy and enthusiasm of youth. He now and then favours me with his enthusiastic optimistic letters. Here is his latest:

> I have just passed through a serious attack of hiccup. It appears God has spared my life this time to enable me to take part in the war of India's independence which I am sure will commence from the midnight of 31st December of this year of grace. God has bestowed upon you the leadership of that war. And I understand you are making preparations for India's fight for freedom. I know my life is not worth much. I also know that I must pay my quota of the price for India's independence. In the Russo-Japanese war, a Japanese commander had to cross an unbridged ditch. He asked his soldiers to throw themselves into it and to make a bridge of human bodies so that his troops might pass over it. I know in the coming struggle you will also have to cross certain unbridged ditches. Please enlist my name as one of those who will voluntarily fill up those ditches with their bodies to enable your troops to cross them, if for no other purpose.

I have no notion that after the midnight of 31st December next the war of India's independence will commence and that I shall have to take up the leadership of the war. Nor have I made up my mind like Babu Hardayal Nag that the national demand will not have been granted before 1st January next dawns upon us.[2] Just as I believe in living till death embraces me holding myself in readiness for that warm embrace, so do I believe in the vindication of my just demand holding myself in readiness for a fight on the rejection of the demand by the appointed time. Many things are impossible for man, nothing is impossible for God. We witness the unexpected happening. I refuse to think that in our case alone, the unexpected will never happen. On the contrary, I cherish the belief that swaraj will come to us in a manner least expected by us. Ours is but to do what we think is the right thing for its advent. All the same I welcome the letter for its enthusiasm and commend it to the youth of the country. I invite them to prepare even as this Bengali octogenarian is preparing. And he who would prepare must fulfil the conditions laid down in the constructive resolution which is designed to pre-

[1] A similar note appeared in *Navajivan*, 24-2-1929.

[2] The note in *Navajivan* here adds: "Babu Hardayal Nag is an optimist. But my optimism surpasses that of his."

pare the nation for the next year's battle. The question of leadership will settle itself when the proper time comes. It is the cause and not the leader that matters.[1]

DINABANDHU IN AMERICA

The following two cables were received from America regarding Dinabandhu Andrews's visit to America. The first from Boston dated 18th instant runs as nearly as I can make it out:

> On occasion of Andrews's visit Boston had luncheon in his honour where representatives from many influential organizations were present. Resolution was unanimously passed of goodwill and fellowship to people of India. American Board Women's prayer group, students Y.M.C.A., Boston Federation Churches, Massachusetts Federation Churches, Fellowship Youth represented. —R. A. Hume

The second from Tuskegee dated 24th instant runs:

> Gracious fellowship with Andrews. His words and presence a benediction. India, Africa and America joined hands last night. Love and greetings from Tuskegee.—Moton, Principal

Andrews had expected when he decided to go to Europe to give himself a little rest. But he had practically none. India's cause demanded his unwearied labours in England, and now in response to a pressing call from the New World he has gone there. In his letters he tells me he will have to go to British Guiana and he thinks that he must go also to South Africa. Marvellous as the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri's work has been in that subcontinent Dinabandhu is of opinion that in view of impending general elections in South Africa it is necessary for him to go there as the self-chosen ambassador of peace.

Young India, 28-2-1929

48. NEED FOR IMMEDIATE RELIEF

Chakravarti Rajagopalachari is a busy man. He is now touring all through the South with Sheth Jamnalalji in the interest of Hindi propaganda. That accounts for his sending me the following telegram instead of sending a letter which might easily have been sent but for his touring. Here is the telegram:[2]

[1] The note in *Navajivan* here adds: "The cause is the swaraj, we are living for it and we are preparing to die for it."

[2] Only extracts are reproduced here.

In response to appeals in *Young India* in October and December last the Pudupalayam Gandhi Ashram has so far received over Rs. 769. Of this Rs. 225 were received by us direct and Rs. 544 through the Sabarmati Ashram. . . . We have restricted our relief work to *Adi-Dravidas* of five villages within a mile of the Ashram. . . . A card is given to each family entitling them to buy at concession prices from the Ashram every Saturday not more than five measures of *jovari* per adult and half this quantity for children below twelve. . . . So far 108 families with 344 adults and 179 children have been registered and are receiving relief as above from 2nd February, 1929. . . . Even then the cost of relief will be Rs. 1,312 of which we have received only Rs. 769. But there are other villages near the Ashram whose *Adi-Dravida* population is in a pitiable condition and is clamouring for relief. . . . Large numbers are emigrating. But very poor and old persons, especially women and children, have not even this escape out of an intolerable situation. . . . We would very much like to give them food free. But our funds are limited. . . . We need at least Rs. 5,000 more to do work fairly satisfactorily. The call is very urgent.

This telegram hardly needs any supplementing. A Latin proverb says: *bis dat qui cito dat.* He gives twice who gives soon. This is a case in point. Donors have been sending money in driblets for which he and I are duly thankful. But meanwhile the famine-stricken people are starving. Instead of reporting that they are starving Rajagopalachari might have any day to report that people are dying for want of food. Relief then might be too late. Let the donors who want to give give now. Rs. 5,000 is not much to give. The telegram contains enough details to prove the necessity for relief.

Young India, 28-2-1929

49. *TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

SABARMATI,
February 28, 1929

KHADISTHAN
CALCUTTA

YOU MAY SETTLE ANYTHING YOU LIKE WITH CONSENT RAMJIBHAI.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8714

50. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

February 28, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I reach Calcutta *via* Delhi by the Delhi-Calcutta Express on Sunday 3rd March about 8 p.m. I do not know the exact time of arrival. I do not know where you would want me to pass the silence day. I have in mind Jivanlal's bungalow. It is no use my coming to Sodepur. The steamer leaves early morning on Tuesday, 5th March. This however would mean my missing Hemprabha Devi. But it seems to be inevitable. I shall have with me much writing work.

Hope Hemprabha Devi is now out of the wood. She must not strain herself. Did I suggest sun-baths for her? I am daily having experiences of the treatment.

Love.

Yours,

BAPU

[PS.]

Of course you will guard against the new Sangh coming in conflict with the Congress. If it does, you will dissuade the Sangh from the Congress and still carry on work later.

I have just heard from Rajendra Babu. I have wired saying I shall gladly hear them all on Monday night after the silence is broken. Have you any papers [with you?][1]

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 8713

[1] The words are illegible in the source.

51. *LETTER TO PONAKA KANAKAMMA*[1]

February 28, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am averse to any earmarking. The best thing is to leave the matter to my judgment and discuss the institution with me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a blockprint of the original: C.W. 9237

52. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

February 28, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your clearly written letter. I remember you well. You are free to come whenever you like. There is no difficulty about your earning your way here.

I leave tomorrow morning and return end of March only to leave again for Andhra Desha. I do not know when I shall be able to stay at the Ashram for any length of time.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SHRIMATI PREMABAI KANTAK
P. L. LADIES' HOSTEL
WACHHA GANDHI ROAD
GAMDEVI
BOMBAY

From a photostat: G.N. 10212

[1] Founder of the Kasturba Vidyalaya, Nellore

53. *INSTRUCTION ON LETTER*[1]

February 28, 1929

Reply to these two letters. Use the money as you think proper, after reading the Marathi letter.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15374

54. *LETTER TO BECHAR PARMAR*

February 28, 1929

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I have your sincere letter. I will not argue with you now. You may certainly resume your barber's occupation and leave the school if you wish to. Do what will give peace to your soul.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5578

55. *LETTER TO V. L. PHADKE*

February 28, 1929

BHAI MAMA,

I have your letter. Here is the hangman come to put the noose round your neck. Wear it if you have the courage. You have not proved a failure at the Antyaja Ashram. You will not fail even as Secretary. Restrict your work to constructive activities. Don't do even this work if it is likely to interfere with your work for the *Antyajas*. Write about Jagu.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3824

[1] The letter, dated February 25, 1929, was from Shankarrao Deo and concerned a sum of Rs. 51 sent by a donor.

56. SPEECH AT UNVEILING OF TILAK STATUE, AHMEDABAD

February 28, 1929

It is clear beyond doubt that after Vallabhbhai's entering the Municipality, it too has become courageous, and I compliment it for the courage it has shown in installing the statue of the Lokamanya. There was a time, only a few years ago, when such acts were considered impertinent, because, formerly, if any library displayed a photograph of the Lokamanya, the Government either compelled the library to remove it or stopped any assistance given to it. But now times have changed, which is a matter for rejoicing.

The late Lokamanya Tilak had sacrificed all his energies for the cause of swaraj. Only one who is ready to lay down his life for swaraj and is capable of winning swaraj for us within a short time can perform the ceremony of unveiling Tilak's statue. Today you have all joined me in performing this ceremony; so, it is your duty too to prepare yourselves to win that swaraj for which the Lokamanya sacrificed his life. That being the directive of the Congress also, it is the duty of everyone to prepare himself for it.

Though, at the moment, the political sky of India is clear, one cannot predict when clouds will gather. The Municipality should display, even in difficult times, the same courage that it has shown today in having this statue unveiled and in hoisting the national flag. Formerly the very mention of the word 'swaraj' was considered an act of high treason. The *mantra* of swadeshi and swaraj which the Lokamanya breathed into our ears even during such difficult times should find a place first in our minds and then in our hearts. We should be ready to lay down our lives for it.

The other great quality of the Lokamanya was his simplicity. Although he could collect funds running into lakhs yet he was extremely economical and simple in matters of food and clothing. Our country is very poor compared to rich countries such as England and America. Here the average daily income of a person is just seven pice. If we exclude from consideration millionaires like Seth Lalbhai and Seth Ambalal, we shall immediately get an idea of the wretched condition of ordinary

people. Hence, everyone should be simple and economical in food, clothing, and so on, and should encourage swadeshi.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 3-3-1929

57. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

February 28, 1929

My relations with Sastriji are such that it is unnecessary for me to describe them. Even if our political thinking is poles apart a bond firmer than the one that unites our hearts will not be found between any other two persons. In spite of differences between us in many matters, this bond endures. I do not know who between the two of us is the more generous. He has even said of me that I cannot tolerate others' ideas. Yet friendship, or opposition, between us has remained sweet. Such is our relationship. This is not the proper time for us to assess the services that Sastriji has rendered to India in South Africa. A man standing at the foot of the mountain cannot admire its beauty. But standing at a distance he recognizes it. Similarly, as you go farther and farther away from the twenty months of Sastriji's career there, you will be able to assess the value of his achievements. He has freely spent all his wealth after going to South Africa. His ambition was to think out ways in which he could add to the glory of India in South Africa. As he had his critics too in South Africa, I have received accounts from both sides. But it is by no means certain that the work of one who has no critics is always valuable. By his stay in South Africa, Sastriji has served Indians residing in all the Colonies. Sastriji has impresssed them with his determination and purity. His presence there as a representative of the people has certainly brought swaraj also a step nearer. Now we have to learn from his experiences and I hope that he will live long to serve India.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 3-3-1929

[1] The meeting was called to hear V. S. Srinivasa Sastri report on his work in South Africa where he had gone as the Agent of the Government of India. Gandhiji presided at the meeting.

58. SPEECH AT FLAG-HOISTING CEREMONY, AHMEDABAD

February 28, 1929

I had thought that I would only have to unfurl the flag in the presence of a few councillors, but here, too, as the President has said in his speech, I would have to say a few words. I am grateful to you for the opportunity that you have given me to hoist the national flag and I once again congratulate the Municipality on adopting the national flag as its own. I do not think that many of you know what the national flag signifies. Since I gave my interpretation[1] of it the country has largely accepted it. There are no doubt a few differences of opinion, but by and large, so far as I have been able to see, India has accepted it.

The flag has three colours — orange, green and white. The orange is for Hindus, green for Muslims and white for other communities. There is a great thought behind it. It is a confluence of three currents, and the three colours express the hope that all communities would live in harmony, and bestow this blessing upon all; the spinning-wheel in the centre suggests that we all have to seek its assistance. This national flag certainly contains the outward symbols, but though the spinning-wheel is there and the different colours are there, if we do not have within us the spirit that underlies it, then, as I said before in the park, it is nothing but a rag.

Today, in India, some people hold that Hindus and Muslims will never get on well together, that these incompatibles can never be on good terms now or in the future, that independence here could either be for the Hindus or for the Muslims. Others who do not belong to these two communities feel that we shall not be able to escape the rule of Japan or Germany. If this line of thinking still persists, it is meaningless to hoist this national flag. You who are present here to witness the unfurling of this flag should take a vow that the Hindus, Muslims and Christians or any other community which regards India as its home, will co-operate with one another for securing swaraj for India. What the President has said is true, namely, that we wish to be free.

The swaraj that we aspire for is to be secured with the strength of these three colours. If we have the conviction that swaraj cannot be won by any other means, then the hoisting of

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 561-2.

this flag is worth while. The resolve which is signified by the spinning-wheel should be shared by all — the President and all others. Different circumstances may confront you tomorrow and you may be asked to take down this flag. In many a municipality in India this flag has been hoisted and also taken down. I, therefore, warn you that you are never to take down this flag once it has been hoisted and for that not only you, the members of the Municipality, but every citizen who is a voter has to struggle till the very end. We have added to our strength by performing this task and I pray to God that this flag may be an inspiration to us all.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 3-3-1929

59. *TELEGRAM TO DR. P. J. MEHTA*

[*February, 1929*][1]

CRUEL FORCE MANILAL PRESENT STATE HEALTH. DO WHAT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT HIM.[2]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15139-a

60. *LETTER TO JAGANNATH*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
[Before *March 1, 1929*][3]

DEAR JAGANNATHJI,

I have your letters from Shikarpur and Sukkur. With the former I received a *hundi* for Rs. 1,700/- which I have duly forwarded to the treasurer at Calcutta.

According to your letter which you wrote on the 17th instant from Hyderabad, I ought to have received a cheque for

[1] The date of this telegram is not ascertainable. It was written at the end of C. F. Andrews's letter dated January 15, 1929 written on board s.s. *Majestic*. The letter must have been received by Gandhiji some time in February.

[2] The source bears the following instructions from Gandhiji: "Post copy of this and Dr. Mehta's wire to Manilal K. Ashram address" from which it is evident that the telegram was sent by Gandhiji while he was away from the Ashram.

[3] From the contents it is evident that the letter was written before March 1, 1929 when Gandhiji left for Burma.

Rs. 2,677-2-6 (which you say you have posted to Delhi on the 15th). I have up till now, after I left you, received only one draft on the Punjab National Bank for Rs. 2,009-4-0 which I received at Delhi and another *hundi* for Rs. 1,700 which I got at Ahmedabad. I should therefore be much obliged if you would kindly enlighten me as to whether you sent three instalments and if so to make immediate enquiry about the cheque for Rs. 2,677-2-6 which you say that you have posted to Delhi on the 15th instant.

We are leaving Ahmedabad for Rangoon *via* Delhi and Calcutta on the 1st March. We reach Delhi on the 2nd morning and take Delhi-Agra-Calcutta Express which takes us to Calcutta on the 3rd evening. We take steamer on the 5th morning and reach Rangoon on the 8th. Our address at Delhi is: C/o Lakshmi Narayan Gadodia, Gadodia Stores, Chandni Chowk, Delhi.

Our Calcutta address is: C/o Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Khadi Pratishthan, Sodepur (E. B. Rly.). And our Rangoon address is: C/o Dr. P. J. Mehta, 14 Moghul Street, Rangoon.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 13320

61. *INTERVIEW TO DR. JOHN MOTT*[1]

[Before *March 1, 1929*][2]

[DR. MOTT:] What do you consider to be the most valuable contribution that India can make to the progress of the world?

[GANDHIJI:] Non-violence, which the country is exhibiting at the present day on a scale unprecedented in history. But for it, there might have been a blaze, for provocation of the gravest kind has not been wanting on the side of the Government. There is no doubt a school in the country that believes in violence, but it is a mere excrescence on the surface and its ideals are not likely to find a congenial soil in the country.

What causes you solicitude for the future of the country?

Our apathy and hardness of heart, if I may use that Biblical phrase, as typified in the attitude towards the masses and their poverty. Our youth are full of noble feelings and impulses but

[1] Based on the report by Pyarelal

[2] The date of the interview, which appears to have taken place at the Ashram on a Monday, is not ascertainable.

these have not yet taken any definite practical shape. If our youth had a living and active faith in truth and non-violence, for instance, we should have made much greater headway by now. All our young men, however, are not apathetic. In fact without the closest co-operation of some of our educated young men and women, I should not have been able to establish contact with the masses and to serve them on a nationwide scale; and I am sustained by the hope that they will act as the leaven, and in time transform the entire mass.

From this they passed on to the distinctive contributions of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity to the upbuilding of the Indian nation.

The most distinctive and the largest contribution of Hinduism to India's culture is the doctrine of ahimsa. It has given a definite bias to the history of the country for the last three thousand years and over and it has not ceased to be a living force in the lives of India's millions even today. It is a growing doctrine, its message is still being delivered. Its teaching has so far permeated our people that an armed revolution has almost become an impossibility in India, not because, as some would have it, we as a race are physically weak, for it does not require much physical strength so much as a devilish will to press a trigger to shoot a person, but because the tradition of ahimsa has struck deep roots among the people.

Islam's distinctive contribution to India's national culture is its unadulterated belief in the oneness of God and a practical application of the truth of the brotherhood of man for those who are nominally within its fold. I call these two distinctive contributions. For in Hinduism the spirit of brotherhood has become too much philosophized. Similarly though philosophical Hinduism has no other god but God, it cannot be denied that practical Hinduism is not so emphatically uncompromising as Islam.

What then is the contribution of Christianity to the national life of India? I mean the influence of Christ as apart from Christianity, for I am afraid there is a wide gulf separating the two at present.

Aye, there's the rub. It is not possible to consider the teaching of a religious teacher apart from the lives of his followers. Unfortunately, Christianity in India has been inextricably mixed up for the last one hundred and fifty years with the British rule. It appears to us as synonymous with materialistic civilization and imperialistic exploitation by the stronger white races of the weaker races of the world. Its contribution to India has been therefore

largely of a negative character. It has done some good in spite of its professors. It has shocked us into setting our own house in order. Christian missionary literature has drawn pointed attention to some of our abuses and set us athinking.

What has interested me most is your work in connection with the removal of untouchability. Will you please tell me what is the most hopeful sign indicating that this institution is as you say on its last legs?

It is the reaction that is taking place in orthodox Hinduism and the swiftness with which it has come about. As a most illustrious example I will mention Pandit Malaviyaji. Ten years back he was as punctilious in the observance of the rules with regard to untouchability as perhaps the most orthodox Hindu of that day. Today he takes pride in administering the *mantra* of purification to the untouchables by the bank of the Ganges, sometimes even incurring the wrath of unreasoning orthodoxy. He was all but assaulted by the diehard section in Calcutta in December last for doing this very thing. In Wardha a wealthy merchant Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj recently threw open his magnificent temple to the untouchables and that without arousing any serious opposition. The most remarkable thing about it is that from the record kept in the temple of the daily visitors it was found that the attendance had gone up instead of declining since the admission of the untouchables to it. I may sum up the outlook by saying that I expect the tide against untouchability to rise still more swiftly in the near future, astonishingly swift as it has already been.

Where do you find your friends? Do you get the backing of the Mussalmans and the Christians in this work?

The Mussalmans and the Christians can from the very nature of the case render little help in this matter. The removal of untouchability is purely a question of the purification of Hinduism. This can only be effected from within.

But my impression was that Christians would be a great help to you in this connection. The Rev. Whitehead, Bishop of the Church of England Mission, made some striking statements about the effect of Christian mass movement in ameliorating the condition of the untouchables in the Madras Presidency.

I distrust mass movements of this nature. They have as their object not the upliftment of the untouchables but their ultimate conversion. This motive of mass proselytization lurking at the back in my opinion vitiates missionary effort.

There are conflicting opinions on this point. There are some who seriously believe that the untouchables would be better off if they turned Christians from conviction, and that it would transform their lives for the better.

I am sorry I have been unable to discover any tangible evidence to confirm this view. I was once taken to a Christian village. Instead of meeting among the converts with that frankness which one associates with a spiritual transformation, I found an air of evasiveness about them. They were afraid to talk. This struck me as a change not for the better but for the worse.

Do you then disbelieve in all conversion?

I disbelieve in the conversion of one person by another. My effort should never be to undermine another's faith but to make him a better follower of his own faith. This implies belief in the truth of all religions and therefore respect for them. It again implies true humility, a recognition of the fact that the divine light having been vouchsafed to all religions through an imperfect medium of flesh, they must share in more or less degree the imperfection of the vehicle.

Is it not our duty to help our fellow-beings to the maximum of truth that we may possess, to share with them our deepest spiritual experiences?

I am sorry I must again differ from you, for the simple reason that the deepest spiritual truths are always unutterable. That light to which you refer transcends speech. It can be felt only through the inner experience. And then the highest truth needs no communicating, for it is by its very nature self-propelling. It radiates its influence silently as the rose its fragrance without the intervention of a medium.

But even God sometimes speaks through His prophets.

Yes, but the prophets speak not through the tongue but through their lives. I have however known that in this matter I am up against a solid wall of Christian opinion.

Oh, no, even among Christians there is a school of thought—and it is growing—which holds that the authoritarian method should not be employed but that each individual should be left to discover the deepest truths of life for himself. The argument advanced is that the process of spiritual discovery is bound to vary in the case of different individuals according to their varying needs and temperaments. In other words they feel that propaganda in the accepted sense of the term is not the most effective method.

I am glad to hear you say this. That is what Hinduism certainly inculcates.

What counsel do you give to the young men who are fighting a losing battle with their lower selves and come to you for advice?

Simply prayer. One must humble oneself utterly and look beyond oneself for strength.

But what if the young men complain that their prayer is not heard, that they feel like speaking to brass heavens as it were?

To want an answer to one's prayer is to tempt God. If prayer fails to bring relief it is only lip prayer. If prayer does not help nothing else will. One must go on ceaselessly. This then is my message to the youth. In spite of themselves the youth must believe in the all-conquering power of love and truth.

The difficulty with our youth is that the study of science and modern philosophy has demolished their faith and so they are burnt up by the fire of disbelief.

That is due to the fact that with them faith is an effort of the intellect, not an experience of the soul. Intellect takes us along in the battle of life to a certain limit but at the crucial moment it fails us. Faith transcends reason. It is when the horizon is the darkest and human reason is beaten down to the ground that faith shines brightest and comes to our rescue. It is such faith that our youth require and this comes when one has shed all pride of intellect and surrendered oneself entirely to His will.

Young India, 21-3-1929

62. *INTERVIEWS TO FOREIGN VISITORS*[1]

[Before *March 1, 1929*][2]

The first was with a British labour Imperialist. This fair visitor began apologetically, "Of course you would like us to clear out of the country altogether."

GANDHIJI: No, on the contrary I should like to keep the English here, but on our terms—not as lords and masters but as true servants of the people. In a free India the English shall have to be content with an equal status with the sons of the soil which means that they must renounce the special privileges which they at present enjoy as members of the ruling race.

"But they may not like to remain here on those terms," continued the fair

[1] Based on the report by Pyarelal

[2] The dates on which these interviews took place are not ascertainable.

visitor, "and yet don't you think that there is much that England can teach India—certain things for which she has a special gift?" Gandhiji asked her to explain further. She mentioned England's political sense, her gift for evolving and managing democratic institutions, which she could impart to India.

I question this claim to exclusive political sense that the English arrogate to themselves. It is one of the greatest superstitions of the age and the surprise to me is that even the most level-headed among the English sometimes succumb to it. There is much in British political institutions that I admire. But I am no fetish worshipper. I do not believe that they are the paragon of perfection or that they must be adopted by India at any price. The English have not been able to make a perfect success of them even in their own country, much less to demonstrate that they are the best model for the whole world to adopt. There are Englishmen who admit that the mother of Parliaments has not fulfilled all the expectations that were entertained of her.

"The air of superiority apart," interposed the questioner, "which I believe is merely on the surface, could not the English help India in certain things in which India is deficient?"

I do not deny that England can help India in a variety of ways. I only question her claim of trusteeship. What is excellent in British political institutions is there for the whole world to see and copy. The British need not come all the way to India as rulers to teach us political wisdom. Whatever is worth adopting for India must come to her through the process of assimilation, not forcible superimposition. For instance the Chinese possess the cunning of the hand in painting which is all their own. It is there for the whole world to admire and imitate. You would not expect the Chinese to come and take possession of England to teach to her the Chinese fine arts, would you?

"No!" exclaimed the English friend, realizing the false position into which she had unconsciously betrayed herself.

The conversation next turned on how the mutual relations between England and India should be adjusted.

They should be adjusted on the principle that each nation should refrain from a policy that might be in conflict with the interests of the other.

The second was with a fair American.... "Is the plight of the untouchable as hard as that of the Negro in America?" she asked.

There can be no true comparison between the two. They are dissimilar. Depressed and oppressed as the untouchable is in

his own land, there is no legal discrimination in force against him as it is in the case of the Negro in America. Then, though our orthodoxy sometimes betrays a hardness of heart that cannot but cause deep anguish to a humanitarian, the superstitious prejudice against the untouchable never breaks out into such savage fury as it does sometimes in America against the Negro. The lynching of the Negro is not an uncommon occurrence in America. But in India such things are impossible because of our tradition of non-violence. Not only that, the humanitarian sentiment in India has so far prevailed against caste prejudice as to result even in the canonization of individual untouchables. We have several untouchable saints. I wonder whether you have any Negro saints among you. The prejudice against untouchability is fast wearing out. I wish somebody could assure me that the tide of colour prejudice had spent itself in America.

The third was with a highly educated Negro from South Africa. . . . He was very much pained at the apathy of educated Negroes towards their own race. "They become altogether like aliens, they are lost to the race," he bitterly complained. . . . "We are crushed, trampled upon and oppressed. We do not know which way to turn. The bulk of us are ignorant. The daughter of ignorance is poverty. The two processes go hand in hand and move in a vicious circle. Then there is the outside force, pitiless and unrelenting like a blind force of Nature without any possibility of reprieve or appeal. We feel stricken and overwhelmed. Instinctively we turn to India for a message of hope and deliverance, for we believe that India has a mission to fulfil with regard to all the oppressed races of the world." Gandhiji was deeply touched.

I had occasion to discuss this subject with the natives while I was in South Africa. I told them that they had got to help themselves and always to work in the hope that help would come to them from somewhere when the hour for it arrived. In the meantime they had to prepare themselves for it by a process of self-purification.

I see your point, but what we want to understand from you is how to relate this inner process with the actual problems of the day that confront us — how to set this process of self-purification in motion.

The first step is to turn the searchlight inward, to proclaim your failings to yourself and the world. There is nothing so debasing and demoralizing as to conceal your weakness and to profess to have strength which you do not possess. The second thing would be to set about boldly and fearlessly to purify public life. Unfortunately a belief has today sprung up that one's pri-

vate character has nothing to do with one's public activity. This superstition must go. Our public workers must set about the task of reforming society by reforming themselves first. This spiritual weapon of self-purification, intangible as it seems, is the most potent means for revolutionizing one's environment and for loosening external shackles. It works subtly and invisibly; it is an intensive process and though it might often seem a weary and long-drawn-out process, it is the straightest way to liberation, the surest and the quickest, and no effort can be too great for it. What it requires is faith — an unshakable, mountain-like faith that flinches from nothing.

Gandhiji thought that he had said enough and that the conversation was finished, but the African friend sprang a big surprise upon him by telling him how much interested he had been in India's effort to revive the cottage industries of spinning and weaving. He was, he said, anxious to introduce it among his own people who were victims of the economic and moral consequences of unemployment and idleness. What appealed to him most about spinning was its possibilities for awakening and fostering a sense of solidarity and oneness among his people. "We have some villages that grow their own food. We have experimentally begun to grow cotton also. We now want to teach our people to manufacture their own cloth and thus to make our villages practically self-contained. It will give us a new social vision, and a new mass consciousness." He was sure that spinning could become a most potent means for mobilizing race consciousness against imperialistic exploitation. He inquired whether Gandhiji could send a teacher to South Africa. Gandhiji said his son Manilal could teach spinning.

But I make a better and sporting offer. I would undertake to take six young men here free of charge and give them a full course of training here. Only they will have to accommodate themselves to the discipline and simplicity of life that prevails here.

The African friend was pleased with the offer and said, "Certainly, my people should lead a simple life. I shall certainly try to avail myself of your generous offer. I hope to write to you from South Africa."[1]

Young India, 28-3-1929

[1] The two paragraphs which follow are not reproduced here. Under the caption "Blessed are the Peacemakers" they described the interview with an Australian.

63. *TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

DELHI,
March 2, 1929

KHADISTHAN
CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. WILL ATTEND WITH PLEASURE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 8715

64. *LETTER TO KONDA VENKATAPPAYYA*

DELHI,
March 2, 1929

I hope to leave Bombay on the 5th or 6th of April and you will please disengage me so as to be able to reach Allahabad on the 14th May for the All-India Congress Committee meeting. I wish I could have given you more time, but if I am to do all the work in front of me for the year, what I have given you is really more than enough. Please draw up a tentative programme and let me have it at Rangoon, 8 Pagoda Street. Do not draw up a whirlwind programme. Let it be a business programme, avoid separate functions. Let all addresses be presented at one place, i.e., at a public meeting. They should not be read, but copies should be furnished in advance. The originals should be in Telugu and should be duly passed by the organizations that may wish to present them. Copies of translations in Hindi should be supplied to me. It is unnecessary to print them. Save every pie that you can and save also my energy. Let me have plenty of time for my correspondence and editorial work and rest.

I am sending you an advance copy of the note[1] that I have written for *Young India* that really gives you much information.

My food does not now include goat's milk. It consists of almonds, turned into paste, some fresh vegetable and lemons. No other food is required.

Please instruct me where I should go first from Bombay.

Let me repeat what my hours are:

[1] *Vide* pp. 88-90.

4 to 7.30 a.m. : No work to be taken from me.
7.30 to 10 a.m. : You may have a programme.
10 a.m. to 5 p.m. : No programme.
5 p.m. to 8 p.m. : You may have a programme.

My eating hours are 10.30 a.m. and 4.30 p.m. The usual hour is 5.30 p.m. In order to have time from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. uninterruptedly for my work and for my rest and for my meals, I am altering the evening meal hour. No other time is suitable because I don't eat after sunset.

The Hindu, 7-3-1929

65. *HOW TO CONQUER DESIRE*

A reader who is trying to conquer passion writes:[1]

There are many people in the position of this reader. It is difficult to conquer passion, but it is not impossible. It is God's word that he who conquers passion conquers the world and attains *moksha*. So, we know that to gain a victory over passion is the hardest job. Those who would conquer sexual urge do not admit that a great deal of patience is needed to achieve results. We know how much perseverance, patience and concentration are needed to acquire a knowledge of the alphabet. From this if we apply the rule of three we shall see that, in order to conquer sexual desire, we need myriad times the patience, etc., needed for acquiring a knowledge of the alphabet.

So much for the patience. But we are equally indifferent with regard to the remedy for conquering passion. We scour the whole world in order to cure an ordinary disease, visit every doctor, do not leave out even talismans. But we do not employ all the remedies to cure a great disease like sexual desire. We tire after trying out a few; on the contrary we even demand of God or the one who suggests a remedy that, though we shall certainly not be able to give up a particular thing, we should be cured of our lust. The reason is that we are not really in earnest about getting this disease of sexual desire cured. We are not willing to sacrifice our all for it. This weakness is the biggest hurdle in our way to victory. It is indeed true that such urges are controlled in one who fasts, but the desire does not depart without a vision of the Self. This verse[2] however does not mean that fasting is of no use in con-

[1] The letter is not translated here.
[2] *Bhagavad Gita*, II. 59

quering desire. It means that we should not tire of fasting, and the vision of the Self is possible with such determination and effort, so that longing will also cease. Such fasting cannot be undertaken at the instance of another person, nor out of hypocrisy. It should have the co-operation of mind, speech and body. We can surely win the divine grace and when that is gained there is bound to be an end to desire.

But prior to fasting, there are many easy steps to be taken. By taking them, even though the desire may not be calmed, it will certainly become weakened. We should avoid all occasions for indulgence. We should cultivate a distaste towards it, for a sacrifice without distaste will merely be external sacrifice and will not endure. It is not necessary to say what constitutes indulgence. We should give up everything that gives rise to desire.

The question of diet also deserves consideration in this connection. That is a virgin field. I believe that he who wishes to subdue passion should make a minimum use of ghee and milk. If he can live on uncooked food, he should not take cooked food or should take only a little of it. Many fruits and a number of greens can be eaten uncooked, and he should do so. The proportion of raw greens should be very small. Sufficient nourishment can be had from two or three *tolas* of raw greens. Sweets, condiments, etc., should be totally avoided. While I suggest this I know that *brahmacharya* cannot be fully safeguarded by means of diet alone. But one cannot hope to observe *brahmacharya* while one resorts to a diet that stimulates the sexual urge.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-3-1929

66. BOYCOTT

In connection with the movement for boycott of foreign cloth, one good sign is that Shri Jairamdas has agreed to resign his seat in the Bombay Legislative Council and has accepted the secretaryship of the Boycott Committee. This is an occasion for the reader to rejoice. The Boycott Committee saw in Delhi itself the need for a secretary who would think of this work all the twenty-four hours and devote himself to it. I at once thought of Bhai Jairamdas. In my opinion, he is well qualified for such work. I wrote him just a short letter[1] suggesting that it would be

[1] *Vide* pp. 20-1.

a good thing if he resigned from the Legislative Council for this great work. He sent me a telegram in reply informing me that he would come and see me. Before leaving Bombay and coming to see me he had made up his mind to resign. After some discussions with me he has returned to Bombay in order to make preparations and will have resigned from the Council by the 17th of March. So his work as secretary can be said to have begun since last Wednesday. I had not expected less than this from Bhai Jairamdas.

The boycott movement can achieve success this very year if we all realize our duty from the sacrifice that Jairamdas has so promptly made. It is my firm belief that the boycott of foreign cloth is the one task which the nation as a whole can easily accomplish and which will be highly effective. Everything else is simply futile. To those who shake their heads I would only say: It is meaningless to shake one's head over a task which can be undertaken and accomplished.

This boycott will be a thousand times more effective than that of the Simon Commission. The latter was necessary; there was some awakening through it; but it did nothing to eradicate the poverty of the people. The cure for that widespread malady is nothing but the boycott of foreign cloth.

It is not necessary to tell readers of *Navajivan* that this boycott cannot be achieved without khadi.

To those who are engaged in the production of khadi I suggest that the essence of boycott lies in production of khadi. They should get busy in producing as much khadi and of as good quality as possible, without bothering about its sale. For be it today or tomorrow, it is certain that there is going to be an upsurge among the people when all will ask for khadi. If the producers are unable to meet the demand, they are going to suffer disgrace. They should not let this happen.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-3-1929

67. WHAT DOES 'CONSTANT WEARER' MEAN?

Everywhere there is a desire, more or less, to put into practice the Congress resolution on the constructive programme. That there is more of it in Gujarat is not surprising. This being the case, it is understandable that the workers seek clarification of the clause regarding the wearing of khadi.

According to the constitution of the Congress, one has a right to become its member even if one does not wear khadi, and one cannot be prevented from becoming a member. But a member thus enrolled cannot take part in the working of the Congress, its committee or subcommittees, nor can he speak, vote at or contest the elections of any of its committees, if he is not 'a constant wearer of khadi'. Therefore, as a result of the khadi clause, one who is not a constant wearer cannot enjoy any of the rights of the Congress and is debarred from rendering certain kinds of service; for instance, he cannot become a volunteer. In fact all privileges enjoyed by Congressmen should be and must be in the form of service to be rendered by them.

Since I deduce this meaning, it is necessary to explain the meaning of the phrase 'constant wearer of khadi'. If we literally translate the equivalent English word, it means one who habitually wears khadi. But anyone who is a habitual wearer is a constant wearer. If the clothes of a constant wearer are stolen and he is unable to obtain khadi immediately, he will wear whatever clothes he can get for the time being, and will obtain khadi at the first opportunity. Despite this he will still be regarded as a constant wearer. Hence a person who wears khadi only while attending to the work of the Congress, but on other occasions wears foreign or mill-made clothes is not a constant wearer. Similarly, one who wears foreign cloth inside and puts on khadi on top is not a constant wearer. Likewise, a man who wears a dhoti of mill-cloth and a cap and shirt of khadi is also not a constant wearer.

In this way, the meaning of 'constant wearer' in my view is quite clear. How, then, should workers enrol members? My advice to them is that if a non-wearer has faith in khadi and is prepared to wear it; he accepts the Congress ideals and contributes 4 annas or yarn spun by himself — they should explain the khadi clause to him and enrol him as a member of the Congress. If a large number of such members are enrolled, they will have little to do in the way of exercising their right except participating in

the elections of the subcommittees. If they are not constant wearers, they should forgo this right, help the Congress in a variety of other ways and should, at the very first opportunity, begin to dress in khadi from head to foot.

It is the duty of the workers not to forget about the members after enrolling them, but to keep a constant watch over them and to persuade them to wear khadi. The workers should go out with them to sell khadi from door to door and should familiarize themselves with the latter's problems and resolve them.

The greatest difficulty in Gujarat is that of dhotis for men and saris for women. Gujarat seems unwilling to spin fine yarn and it finds khadi dhotis expensive. It is possible to produce dhotis in Gujarat if we have the will. We do produce good cotton. In Gujarat, there is a great awakening and there are volunteers also, as well as National Schools. I have found from experience that those who card well can also spin well. For drawing out fine and strong yarn we should have slivers made of well-carded cotton. Carding has made the maximum progress in Gujarat. Plenty of carding-bows can be produced here, and there are also people eager to learn the work. But the will is lacking. If Gujarat so desires, it can produce fine yarn quite soon. But if it is too lazy to do so, and also unwilling to pay for fine dhotis, the men and women here should wear half-length dhotis of coarse khadi.

But all this is meant for wise, sensible people and for khadi-lovers. Where there is a will there is a way. But where there is no will, in spite of the way, we remain stone-blind. One who cannot dance will find the ground uneven.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-3-1929

68. *A BEAUTIFUL SATYAGRAHA*

Something appeared in the newspapers about the satyagraha that was offered in Miraj a few months ago. But what appears in newspapers is incomplete and sometimes even incorrect, so I did not pay any attention to it. But in this context, I came across the name of Pundalik. I know him very well, since he has stayed in the Ashram, and is a follower of Gangadharrao Deshpande. So I sent for all the information from him. What he says deserves to be considered. I therefore give the main portion of the letter below. The original letter is in Hindi.[1]

We can well regard this small satyagraha as having been beautifully concluded. There are here three points worth noting. The first is that the duty of the leader was only to maintain peace, because that is the foundation of satyagraha. Secondly, the leaders did not provoke the people to fight to satisfy their own vanity, and allowed the *panch* appointed by the people to go to negotiate a settlement. This means that the satyagraha leaders should be without pride. Thirdly, there is no need whatsoever for the satyagraha leader to be a scholar, a lawyer or a barrister. He should possess the qualities of truthfulness, placidity, steadfastness, courage, simplicity, etc. The real leader of this satyagraha was Pundalik. He cannot be regarded as an intellectual. His knowledge of English is almost nil but he displayed all the requisite qualities which I have listed above.

But this work cannot be said to have been finished yet. The remaining work is as important as the work already done. The awakening of the people should be utilized to make them realize their own condition, their own strength and their own limitations. Only then can we preserve the gains achieved which would then spread in the surroundings like the fragrance of flowers.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-3-1929

[1] The letter is not retranslated here. The correspondent had described how he had successfully led a satyagraha movement in Miraj taluk against an unjust increase in land revenue.

69. AN IDEAL STUDENTS' HOSTEL[1]

Since a conference about Hostels is to be held this month in this city, I was asked to express my views as to what would be an ideal hostel. I have been running students' hostels since 1904 according to my lights. I am therefore inclined to claim that I have some knowledge and experience of how hostels should be run and managed. Here, we would do well to take a wider sense of the term 'hostel'. Every person who is learning anything is a student; and the place where more than one such student lives I consider a students' hostel.

The first and the most important condition for the success of such hostels is that the superintendents must be men of good character.

A hostel should never be allowed to degenerate into a mere boarding-house, that is, a place where students live together for the sake of obtaining their meals.

Students should cultivate a family feeling towards one another, and the superintendent should take the place of a father. He should take an interest in them, take part in their social life, and also have his meals with them.

An ideal hostel would be almost more important to the student than school. In fact, the hostel is the real school. In schools or colleges the students get only verbal knowledge, while in the hostels they get all kinds of knowledge. An ideal hostel should not be a separate institution from the school; hence, both should be under the same management, and teachers and students should live together. Thus, we should make the hostels like home, and create in them ideal conditions for growth and development such as do not obtain even in real homes. Therefore, the thing to do would be to turn the hostels into gurukuls.

There are many defects in our hostels. The reason lies in the fact that students lack a sense of belonging to a family group, and those who run them do not enter fully into the life of the students.

Then, these hostels should be outside the city limits, and all the reforms which are considered necessary for the villages or cities should be carried out in them, that is, there must be the necessary arrangements for hygienic and sanitary living and the

[1] The translation used here is from *True Education*, pp. 133-5.

rules of such living should be strictly followed. An ideal hostel cannot be set up in a rented building. There should be good bath-rooms and latrines. The building should be well-ventilated and have a garden attached to it.

An ideal hostel should be swadeshi in all respects — in the way the building is constructed, furnished and decorated. There should too be a reflection of village arts and crafts and way of life. The building itself should be in keeping with our needs and our means, considering the poverty of India. Thus, hostels, as built in prosperous and affluent Western countries, cannot serve as models for ours. Climatic conditions abroad and here differ. Hence, the type of building put up must be in accordance with prevailing conditions.

There must be nothing in the ideal hostel which might encourage indolence and softness, or lead to waywardness. Therefore, the food served there should be simple — as becomes the life of seekers of knowledge. There should be regular prayers, and rules governing work, rest and sleep.

An ideal hostel will be a *brahmacharya* ashram, i.e., a colony of students living the life of *brahmacharis*. The word 'student' is of recent origin — a modern word. The old word for a student — *brahmachari* — is richer in meaning and connotes the ideal of student life more truly. *Brahmacharya* or spiritual discipline — control of the senses, purity of body and mind, and devotion to studies with a view to attaining the Ultimate Reality — is absolutely necessary during the period of study. In the rather topsyturvy conditions obtaining today, I would like married students also, if admitted into the hostel, to observe *brahmacharya* until the completion of their studies. This means, among other things, that during this period they should live away from their wives.

The reader should remember that I have described what would be an ideal hostel. It is understandable that all hostels may not be able to realize this goal. But, if the ideal described above is accepted as the standard, every hostel should strive to reach it, and assess its achievement by comparison with the ideal.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 3-3-1929

70. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised *March 4, 1929*

CHI. MIRA,

This sheet tells you where I am writing from.

Tomorrow takes me away from you for a fair distance. My third-class travelling is becoming a fraud in a way. From Delhi I had a whole compartment given to me and the party. There was thus greater freedom than in the 2nd class and I had the satisfaction of having the whole company with me. The separation pained me. The being together gives me joy.

The Mandir is making visible progress, so I fancy. The joint kitchen is becoming more and more popular, and I do not think, at the end of the year, anybody would want to break it up. But let us see.

Do not be anxious about me. There are three services from Rangoon per week. I hope to write to you therefore three times a week. The sailings from Calcutta to Rangoon are Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays. So you too need not write more than three times per week. The steamer always leaves in the morning.

You will not forget to give me a summary of your work after some time now. I want your informed opinion on the soft spindles and a description of your improvements on the bow, also your digest of comparison between the results of well carded slivers and what they used to have before. I hope you are keeping a diary of these bare experiences. I want you to treat your experiment scientifically.

I want you also to tell me from time to time all about the morning and the evening prayers and what you sing there. And give me also your final changes about food. I am attaching more and more importance to your experiment, for I know you are accurate about these things, and will not easily deceive yourself.

I have a curious party with me this time. It includes a mad girl graduate. She is the daughter of a well-known Tamil leader —Rajaji's friend. Last time I was in Delhi, she and her cousin came in to see me. I suggested their coming to the Ashram for a change. The father jumped at the idea. And there they are. In order to be able to look after her more easily, I have cropped her hair. Now she and the cousin are going with me to Burma. She will listen, if at all, to me and no one else. It is a serious responsibility. But it is God's, not mine. Then there is Champa

with her two babies—Dr. Mehta's daughter-in-law whom you know. Dr. M. wanted me to take her with me. I expect she will be left in Rangoon. The rest are Pyarelal, Girdhari, Subbiah, Mahadev and Purushottam. Mahadev arrives this morning. As Purushottam was still somewhat constipated, I suggested his joining me. He being with me, I am able to avoid the lights for the prayers. He recites the *Gita* without any assistance.

I am more and more reverting to uncooked food. During the journey I had raw vegetable, chopped up with bread. So bread was the only cooked preparation. Fruit is now becoming a superfluity. Raw green vegetable is proving a perfect and cheap substitute. Cabbage, cauliflower or any *bhaji* serves the purpose. And one needs such a small quantity when you eat the vegetable in a raw state.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5348. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9404

71. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [March 4, 1929][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We arrived in Calcutta yesterday evening after a very quiet journey. They had given us a whole carriage. The mad Rukmini is also with us. Her father has given up all hope about her. I do not have the courage to abandon her. Mahadev has not arrived yet. It is just seven in the morning.

Send Rs. 500 from the Birla fund to Jawaharlal Nehru for famine relief in U.P. The money will be spent in Allahabad through Kripalaniji.

I see that people already feel the shortage of khadi. We are only a drop in the ocean but we should produce as much khadi as we can. If they can manufacture more in Chalala, let them do so. The stocks which you will send will be bought up in no time.

Take firm measures in every department of the Ashram and clear up things. It is necessary that we should not remain in a state of constant fear. A firm decision in every matter will save us from many difficulties.

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Calcutta *en route* to Burma on March 3.

Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Get Padmavati's eyes examined in Dr. Harilal's[1] dispensary, get the prescription for her glasses and send it to Sitla Sahay. He will buy the glasses and send them to her.

Totaram's eyes must be all right by now. I hope you have made the necessary arrangements to enable Gangadevi to take sun-bath.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5390

72. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

CALCUTTA,
March 4, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Your nervousness caused me pain. You have to get rid of it. I can get solid work out of you only when I can make you live anywhere by yourself.

I hope you are continuing the study of the *Gita*. Don't let anything tell on your health. Do take ghee if you feel the need.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Rajendra Babu is here.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3336

[1] Dr. Harilal Desai

73. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, CALCUTTA*[1]

March 4, 1929

As the Congress has directed we must boycott foreign cloth, not only British cloth but all foreign cloth. It will not do to boycott British cloth alone, for it will find its way into the country along with other foreign cloth. Bengali friends know this from their experience during the swadeshi movement.

India is an extremely poor country. I wish to draw strength from having the poor of India with me. That is why I place so much emphasis on the propagation of khadi. The author of the *Mahabharata* has dwelt at length on the glory of serving the poor. Buddha has also spoken of this. The people of India sorely need food and clothing. Tormented by the pangs of hunger our countrymen have been known to abandon their children. There is no remedy for their suffering other than propagation of khadi. I have reached this conclusion after having travelled all over India. I shall bow to the man who can show an alternative way of removing the distress of the poor millions of India. I shall accept him as my guru. The only way is the boycott of foreign cloth. I have the fullest faith in this measure.

I hope you will take off such foreign cloth as you may be wearing and burn it here and now and collect all foreign cloth in your homes and bring it to the spot indicated by the Congress and burn it. And now please take off all your foreign cloth.[2]

(As my speech at the foreign-cloth-burning-demonstration campaign at Calcutta on the 4th instant and the statement made to the Press have a significance beyond the Indian border and as they define the scope of the boycott campaign as also of civil disobedience, I transcribe them below from the daily Press.

M. K. G.)

FRIENDS,

I do not propose to translate what I have been saying in Hindustani. It is sufficient for me to say that the boycott of foreign cloth, not merely boycott of British cloth, is in my opi-

[1] The meeting was held in the Shraddhanand Park.

[2] The three paragraphs above are a translation of Gandhiji's speech in Hindi as reported in *Aaj*. What follows is the report of his speech in English taken from *Young India*.

nion indispensable if we are to attain swaraj in terms of the hungry millions.

The Congress accepted this proposition last year. The Working Committee by accepting the scheme drawn up by me at its instance has also set its seal of approval upon the proposition that I have laid down before you. The Working Committee has invited me to shoulder the burden of guiding its deliberations. I have faith in you, my countrymen, I have faith in God. I have faith in the absolute righteousness of this cause and so in fear and trembling and full hope I have shouldered the burden and now ask you to share that burden with me. This meeting is not of my seeking, you have chosen to call this meeting, you have come here well knowing what is to happen here. I hope that this is a sign of your determination to lighten the burden that I have shouldered. I do not want to argue out the pros and cons of the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi. Remember that is the proposition enunciated in the scheme. Before the Working Committee would accept this scheme it wanted to subject me to a fire of cross-examination. The proceedings lasted for four hours and the Working Committee was fully satisfied that this was the only thing we could possibly do if we were to go through this programme during this year and if need be wake up on the first of January next with the whole country as Independencewallahs. If we are to achieve our purpose this is the only effective programme. I want you therefore to be true to this programme and to yourselves. No longer deceive yourselves and the country by crowding at meetings of this character, by giving applause and then going away forgetting everything about what might happen at such meetings. I want you to translate every word that you say into effective action. I want you to pledge yourselves not before me but before your God that henceforth you are not going to use any foreign cloth, that you are going to give up foreign clothes in your possession, that you will burn them even as you burn rags in your possession which may require to be disinfected, even as a drunkard suddenly become teetotaller empties his cupboard and destroys every bottle of brandy and whisky in his possession, no matter what it might have cost him. You will count no cost too great against the cause, the liberty and honour of your country.

But there is a fly in the ointment. I have seen a notice served upon the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee which proceeds somewhat on these lines: That at this meeting no burning of clothes should take place because it is an offence under the

Police Act or Police Regulations, whatever that may be called. The clause runs after this fashion that no burning of straw or such other things can take place in or near any public street or thoroughfare. Well, I have been taxing my mind as to whether to call this Park a thoroughfare or not. Two lawyers put their heads together—I do not count myself as a lawyer, I am disbarred—they put their heads together and advised me that by no stretch of meaning could this Park be called a thoroughfare. They drew my attention to another section in the Act where a public street, a public thoroughfare and a place of public resort were also mentioned. In this section the place of public resort is specifically omitted. I can well understand this Park being a place of public resort.

In this circumstance what am I to do? I accept this notice as one served upon my humble self. I do not want to avoid the consequences of this law. But today I do not appear before you as a civil breaker of law, I do not appear before you as a civil resister, I do not want you to commit at this moment a breach of any Regulation. I am quite capable of breaking all the Regulations that may hurt my moral sense but that time is not yet for me—that time may come tomorrow, but it is not tonight. But I have got to discharge a public duty in front of you and in interpreting this law as I do or as I am advised to interpret it I venture to submit that this notice has no effect upon me, assuming the argument that the service of that notice upon the Secretary is equal to service upon me. If I am taken before a court of law, I make this definite promise that I shall not raise this issue that the notice was not served upon me. I claim this is not a public thoroughfare, I claim also that I am not doing anything that is dangerous. It is well known that it is the settled policy of the Congress or rather of the Working Committee. The Working Committee has got a duty to discharge. I am a member of that Committee, I am the Chairman of the Boycott Committee and I feel that I shall be running away from my duty if I shirk this issue and avoid a prosecution against me.

If I am allowed to go away, I shall be going away tomorrow and I shall return on the 25th or the 26th of this month to undergo and stand a prosecution against myself for having undertaken to burn foreign cloth in a public park which I claim is not a public thoroughfare. That is the important statement I wanted to make before you. You are not burning, the act of burning is by me and it will be on my sole responsibility. You are not hurt by being witnesses —I wish you were hurt. But today the campaign is not of civil resistance but one of conduct-

ing a boycott, a fierce boycott of foreign clothes, remaining as long as it is possible within the four corners of the law. I do not want you today to be guilty, consciously or unconsciously, of a breach of laws of this kind whatever some of those laws may be. You will get the opportunity if you care to obey the directions of the Working Committee when the proper time comes to break certain laws or all non-moral laws of the country. But as I have said before, the time is not yet and I do not want to precipitate that time and I do not want also to anticipate that time. And if the Government will play the game, if the police will play the game, I promise we shall settle our business with Government without having to resort to civil disobedience, without the public having even to resort to no-tax campaign which is a part of civil disobedience. Believe me I shall strain every nerve to avoid that issue. Speaking with a full sense of responsibility over my shoulders, I know the tremendous consequences of civil disobedience and of no-tax campaign in a vast country like this —a country which has undisciplined masses—but a man who is mad as I am now after freedom, a man who is hungry after freedom—and a real hunger for freedom is infinitely more painful than hunger for mere bread—has got to take tremendous risks, to stake everything that he has in order to gain that precious freedom, and it is because I am hungry for that freedom—although I am on the threshold of death, I want to see swaraj whilst I have still breath in me—that I want to take all those risks. But at the same time I want to take every precaution and therefore I shall plead with the Government and the powers that be, I shall ask them to come to their senses.

But if you alone will help me we shall be able to avoid all these risks and still find the dawn of freedom breaking upon us before the 31st of December next.

If you will [be truthful, if you will][1] carry out honestly, faithfully and completely the programme that will be set before you from time to time I promise no heroic measures will be necessary to be taken by you. Is boycott of foreign cloth such a heroic measure? Is the putting of the Congress house in order such a heroic measure? Is the registering of thousands upon thousands of members for the Congress or the habitual wearing [of] khadi [on the part of the rich and the poor] a heroic act? If you think these are heroic acts I can honestly tell you that

[1] Portions in square brackets are taken from *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-3-1929 and *The Hindustan Times*, 7-3-1929.

you do not know what heroic acts are; heroic acts are made of sterner stuff. Do not run away with the idea that the programme before you is heroic stuff. These easy things have been placed before you for the simple reason that you are millions against one hundred thousand men.

If we were not under the spell of hypnotism or if we were not being acted upon by that great force [of] inertia, or want of self-confidence, we would find it the most natural thing to breathe the air of freedom which is ours to breathe. If we were not under this hypnotic spell we would not have to go through even these easy stages. [Try and do these things during this year and then come to me and ask me, "Where is swaraj?" You will not need coming to me. You will find it within your grasp. The millions of the masses will smile upon you. They will bless you for making a common cause with them by understanding their real grievances. Therefore I ask you to do this.

I have faith in you. This notice from the Commissioner of Police has enabled me to make my appeal to the authorities. I am here to take the risk. I propose to burn the clothes that have been handed to me and I want you before I perform the sacred ceremony to throw all your clothes at me on the platform. Do not make any noise.]

No violence [or force] must be used so long as you want to have me as a participator in this ceremony. I swear by non-violence—that is my creed. I can see no other way open to me to regain my freedom. [So long as you choose to have me in this campaign, in spite of my creed, so long do I plead with you to observe the law of non-violence, you will find that you have done well.]

The responsibility for this act of burning is entirely on my shoulders—please remember too that we want the boycott of foreign clothes and not merely of British clothes. Let that confusion be dispelled from your minds. Take it from me that the men who have been a party to this scheme are not thoughtless men. They went into the question of foreign clothes *versus* British clothes and they came to the conclusion that the proper thing was boycott of foreign clothes. I do not want to go into the question of the Indian mills; they will take care of themselves if you will take care of khadi. [Otherwise the mills will be a halter round your neck.][1]

Aaj, 8-3-1929, and *Young India*, 14-3-1929

[1] The speech was followed by a bonfire of foreign clothes. Shortly afterwards the police entered the scene and put out the fire. *Vide* also the following item.

74. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

[*March 5, 1929*][1]

I was pained and amazed at the uncalled-for and wholly unnecessary police interference, especially after the speech that I delivered in connection with the burning of the foreign clothes. Out of consideration for the Commissioner of Police I went out of my way and delivered my speech in English so far as it referred to the burning incident.

I had full hope that, after the clear statement I made that we were not out for breaking any laws by way of civil disobedience but that we did not accept the interpretation put upon the clause in question of the Police Act, there would be no attempt in interfering with the burning. I have a little experience of the Police Acts in many other parts of the world. Unless there is imminent and grave danger, the police never interfere with acts of the public even though these may amount to a breach of laws and regulations. They summon them before a court of law and it is the most natural thing for a police that are humble enough to recognize their limitations to seek redress through courts of law instead of taking the law into their own hands. They know that tonight there was no danger imminent, there was not certainly serious danger, the crowd was quite peaceful and responsible men were in charge of the whole demonstration. They knew that the demonstration was a part of a big public campaign and on the top of that they had the clearest possible pronouncement from me. The act of burning too had actually taken place and I was confident that the police were there merely to watch when all of a sudden I saw them with their big sticks shoving out the crowd that surrounded the fire and then with their sticks putting the fire out.

What followed I need not describe. I was not able to watch all the things that were going on around me, surrounded as I was by friends, but I saw that there came a stage when the police used their sticks against the crowd. I have since understood from Sir Charles Tegart that some constables were hurt with brickbats more or less seriously. I am sorry to hear this. I hear from my friends that members of the public also have been more or less seriously hurt.

[1] The statement was issued at 2.30 a.m.

By a little tact, by a little forbearance, by following the tradition of civilized police all the world over, the whole of the scene could have been avoided. I could have understood the police interfering with the burning of foreign cloth if there was a proper prosecution, a proper interpretation of the Act, and if in defiance of such interpretation by a court of law we had in pursuance of a plan of civil disobedience or otherwise persisted in the burning ceremony.

I am glad that though the police have, in the high-handed manner I have described, interfered with public demonstration, they are prosecuting[1] me and those who took part in setting fire. I recognize the courtesy of the Commissioner of Police in not insisting upon the trial tomorrow and in stopping it till my return from Burma. It was but right that he should expect me to give him an undertaking that till this case is decided there would be no burning of foreign cloth in Calcutta public squares. After consultation with the local Congress friends I have already given that undertaking and I hope that the public will scrupulously respect it.

Let me, however, make it perfectly clear that this does not mean a stoppage of boycott demonstration, of collection of foreign cloth or even of burning it. The undertaking means that pending the authoritative interpretation of this particular section of the Police Act there shall be no burning in Calcutta public squares and naturally in the public streets of Calcutta. But whenever it is considered necessary and whenever the Congress authorities so decide they will not hesitate to burn collected foreign cloth in private places or in places that manifestly do not come under the section in question even in accordance with the interpretation sought to be placed upon it by the Police.

I shall be very much surprised indeed if after the unwarranted and premature interference by the Police with the demonstration at Shraddhanand Park the whole of the people do not discard foreign cloth and complete the boycott. The most effec-

[1] At about 11.15 p.m. on March 4, Gandhiji was intimated by the Assistant Commissioner of Police that he was required to appear before the Court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate at 10 a.m. on March 5 and was asked to sign a recognizance bond. Gandhiji said he "could not sign such a bond for promising to appear in court on Tuesday as it had been previously arranged that he would leave for Burma on that day . . . he could not disappoint thousands who expected him in Burma. The Police might take the responsibility of preventing him from going there. If the Police liked they could arrest him." Later in the early hours of March 5, Gandhiji signed a personal recognizance bond of Rs. 50.

tive answer to this interference would be for the people in mofussil and the people of other provinces to collect all the foreign clothes available and consign them to the flames. I have given many an anxious hour to this question of burning foreign cloth. I know some friends differ from me but if it is a fact that foreign cloth means the largest drain on the country's resources and the enforced pauperization of the starving millions, then this foreign cloth, charged as it is with such poisonous germs, deserves only to be destroyed.

Forward, 5-3-1929, and *Young India*, 14-3-1929

75. THE ETHICS OF BURNING

[*March 5, 1929*][1]

It will be as late as March 17 before this article is in the reader's hand. I write this on the steamer on my way from Calcutta to Rangoon, so that the spectacle of what took place on March 4 in Shraddhanand Park is still fresh in my mind. I hope that the lathis of hundreds of thousands of policemen will not be able to extinguish the fire that was kindled in that park on that day.

For dharma will not be extinguished by anyone trying to do so. Once it manifests itself in a man's heart, it does not perish even when his body perishes. The fire of dharma lit by the world's men of destiny, prophets, and Hindu and Muslim saints has continued to burn even after their bodies have perished.

But some may ask: Can burning of clothes be dharma? It is my humble opinion that the dharma of burning clothes can be proved. We burn or bury a body from which life has departed. We burn the things which have been contaminated. He who discards liquor will throw it away. However costly the liquor, when one has given up drinking, one will not commit the sin of selling it to another. If costly things are contaminated by the plague, they are burnt. It has been regarded as a dharma to do so. The Johannesburg Municipality did not feel hurt in burning down the expensive building of the market and the provisions contained in it when the plague broke out in Johannesburg. It considered it a duty to do so. There may well be a difference of opinion on the necessity of consigning these things to the flames. But even those opposed to it will concede that burning may become a dharma for those who believe that it is necessary to do so.

[1] Gandhiji left Calcutta for Rangoon on the morning of March 5.

Likewise, it is my humble view that it is the dharma of every Indian to burn foreign cloth. After the insolent and cruel performance of the Calcutta police, that dharma has acquired a new urgency. Those who before that event had doubts about the need to burn foreign cloth should have none after it.

No one will doubt that it is our dharma to boycott foreign cloth which has impoverished our country and through which over 60 crores of rupees are drained out of India every year. If this is conceded, what are we to do with the boycotted cloth if not burn it? Some say that it should be given away to the poor. Those who make this suggestion do not see that thereby they insult both themselves and the poor. They insult the poor when they consider them inferior to themselves, and insulting the poor they insult themselves. Do not the poor have self-respect? Do they not want swaraj? Why should we give to the poor a thing which we regard as infected? We do have the mean habit of offering to the poor left-overs from our plates. Shall we add to that meanness by giving them the clothes which we ourselves have discarded?

Let us consider what sort of clothes they are. The clothes I have burnt till today comprised handkerchiefs, clean or unclean black caps, neckties, collars, socks, thin long shirts, blouses, fine saris, etc. What clothes out of these could one give to the poor? And how strange would it be to create in the poor a fondness for them? If we do so, how shall we seek to boycott foreign cloth?

And, finally, no one can doubt the necessity of the bonfire after that scene at Shraddhanand Park. I had told the police that there was no intention of breaking the law for the purpose of burning foreign cloth. Only after the lawyers had given their opinion that the police had not correctly interpreted the section of law on the basis of which the order prohibiting the burning was issued, was it decided to burn clothes in that park. Despite this when the police attempted fruitlessly to put out the fire merely to annoy the people, the latter were certainly agitated and then started burning at many spots in the park. And that led to some exchange of blows between the police and the people. I believe it will be a gross insult to India if, even after such insolence, foreign cloth is not burnt in every home in every village. After this action of the police, people should have confidence in place of whatever doubt they may have had about the success of the boycott.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-3-1929

76. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Tuesday [*March 5, 1929*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. How could I expect to take rest in Calcutta? Last night I could go to bed only at about two. I am writing this letter on the ship on the 5th. The events in Calcutta have been fully reported by Mahadev in *Navajivan*.

You did well in speaking firmly to Yashodabehn. In a matter in which we have no doubt that we are following dharma, it is not wrong to be hard; on the contrary we ought to be so. I had only been joking about her hair. I had told them all that, if Rukmini felt afraid, others should be ready to part with their hair. Such things are bound to take a secretary's time. You should not believe that it is wasted.

Do not mind if the arrangement for the technical school[1] is for a year. The reason behind this is not distrust, it is Jamnalalji's cautious nature. Even if the reason is distrust, you need not worry about the matter.

Apart from suspiciousness and a tendency to be hasty, I have seen no other defects in you. These two defects will disappear in the course of time, for from the very first day that I came to know you I have observed you to be hard-working and straightforward. I have no doubt that you will succeed.

It is fixed that we shall return to Calcutta on the 24th. The case is on the 26th. I wish to take the train to Ahmedabad on the same day. Whether I shall succeed or not is a different matter. "I do not know, O Lord of Janaki, what will happen tomorrow morning." Who had anticipated what happened in Calcutta?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You will see from what I have stated above that I shall barely reach the Ashram on the evening of the 28th or the morning of the 29th. I shall have to leave for Kathiawar the same evening.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5564

[1] Khadi Technical School

77. LETTER TO RAMNARAYAN PATHAK

March 6, 1929

BHAI RAMNARAYAN,

I am able to reply to your letter only today while on my way to Rangoon. To raise contributions from cultivators is an art by itself. So far we have had only a few volunteers trained in that art. Moreover, before we ask for contributions from the cultivators, we must raise contributions for them. The merchant class, at any rate, must pay. This argument holds good in the case of the Ashram too. For the present, cultivate contacts with merchants and traders and get what you can by appealing to their hearts. This includes the whole middle class.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

BHAI RAMNARAYAN
ASHRAM, CHHAYA
via PORBANDAR (KATHIAWAR)

From Gujarati: C.W. 2785. Courtesy: Ramnarayan Pathak

78. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

March 6, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have made use of your letter in a *Navajivan* article, but I did intend to write to you. That I am able to do only now on my way to Rangoon.

It is three months since I had your letter. During this time you must have been tested still more severely in the observance of your vow. Let me hear in detail about it. Every moment I realize the need for ceaseless vigilance in observing this vow. The slightest slackness in observing other restraints affects adversely the observance of *brahmacharya*. The other sense organs function as if they were the slaves of this one organ. Hence, it is our duty to free them from this slavery. When we succeed in that, sex loses the support of other senses and submits to discipline.

You must get your eyes treated for trachoma. If the disease is cured, that will help your eyesight too.

Keep me informed about the progress of khadi work there. I think we can gain a lot by following your suggestion about the tailor. But the implementation depends on you. Someone must sacrifice himself to infuse life into all others. I did get some letters, but I don't know how I can use them.

I shall return to the Ashram by the end of this month. Thereafter the Andhra tour will start.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3729

79. FORTHCOMING ANDHRA TOUR

Friends in Andhra Desha will forgive me for repeated disappointments caused by circumstances beyond my control. I would gladly have toured earlier if I could have. Now I hope to reach Andhra early next month. Appointments already undertaken finish on 1st April in Kathiawar. I would like a day or two at the Udyoga Mandir and immediately start for Andhra. That would mean leaving Bombay for Andhra about the 5th or 6th of April. On 14th May is the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Allahabad which I must attend. I shall therefore have a trifle over a month in Andhra. I wish I had more time at my disposal but I am helpless. But by good organization much work can be done during the month.

My tour is to be undertaken wholly in the interest of khadi but I shall welcome and want contributions for the Lalaji Memorial. Besides the begging however I expect to do active propaganda in connection with the constructive [programme] resolution of the Congress, more especially about the boycott scheme framed by the Working Committee. I should be painfully surprised if Andhra Desha does not make a most encouraging contribution to the boycott campaign. They have no excuse about fine khadi. They have infinite capacity for producing khadi whether coarse or fine. They grow plenty of cotton. They have able workers and they yield to no province in patriotic fervour. Only they have too many leaders and very few followers. Their versatility has given rise to petty jealousies and bickerings. Is it too much to hope that by the time I reach Andhra Desha they will have made an effort not beyond their capacity to close up their ranks and humbly become followers instead of all claiming to lead?

As for Burma, I have instructions from the Working Committee to inspect the work of the Andhra and Utkal Provincial Congress Committees and to have their accounts audited. I hope that the Presidents, Secretaries and members of both the Committees will bear in mind what I have said about Burma and keep everything ready when I reach Andhra Desha. The Utkal Secretary will kindly see me with the papers at any of the places in Andhra Desha that may be most convenient for him.

A word about the purse or purses to be presented. I am already having proposals that earmarked purses should be presented to me. I must warn the workers against the practice. They must not exploit my name for local work. Local work should really stand on its own merit. The character, good faith and ability of local workers should command such financial support as may be needed for local enterprise. This I can say. The major part of my khadi collections I devote to the province, if it is a khadi production centre. Where, as in Ceylon or Burma, there is no khadi locally produced, the whole of the collections must be used outside those provinces. So far as Andhra Desha is concerned, when the tour was originally conceived the idea was to raise money chiefly for khadi production in Andhra. And that decision still abides. No doubt a certain portion will be used for the upkeep of the Central Office. Workers will please refrain from presenting earmarked purses except with my previous consent. All such proposals must come through and be recommended by Deshabhakta Venkatappayya who is in charge of the tour programme.

Lastly, the enthusiasts will have pity on me. They will share with me, if they will not exclusively bear, the burden of keeping my body in good condition. I am often told that I am no longer responsible for it and that it is a national trust. I am not quite convinced that it is. But it is open to the Andhra nationalists to bring home the conviction to me. Let me suggest a few don'ts to them:

Don't give the body more than six hours' work.

Don't make noises at meetings or anywhere else.

Don't have processions.

Don't go in for spectacular things.

Don't have too many enagagements per day.

Don't take the body to places where there is no money or no business in terms of the objects of the tour.

Don't take it anywhere to satisfy anybody's whim or pride.

Don't take it to many places.

Don't make the mistake of thinking it is a mere lump of earth; it is no doubt a lump of earth but it contains a very sensitive tiny creature that notices everything done to the earthy case.

Young India, 7-3-1929

80. LALAJI MEMORIAL

Apart from Sind the other provinces have shown poor results in the matter of collections for the Memorial. Even the Punjab still falls short of expectations. It is to be hoped that the Punjab does not need stimulation from outside. The Punjab should not only fulfil all the expectations but should even influence the other provinces by its promptness in responding to the Memorial appeal. Tardy response will lose half the grace that promptness always lends to such things.

Young India, 7-3-1929

81. THE GIVER OF PLENTY

I reproduce from Sjt. Talmaki's paper interesting extracts[1] on 'dairying'. The extracts confirm what has been said before in these pages regarding the only method of saving the cow. The Rao Bahadur examines dairying as a secondary occupation. That no doubt is one very important use of dairying. But the greater object of saving the cow includes the lesser one of finding a secondary occupation as also many others which would occur to the reader. The remedy being known for the main disease the next thing is to find out the way of applying the remedy. And it will at once strike any intelligent person that the way is adult education answering the deficiencies which everyone acknowledges and which everyone would gladly remove at the earliest possible moment. This education can only take the shape of giving practical demonstrations by conducting model dairies, model tanneries and model breeding farms. As I have shown in these pages the three things can be economically combined and run together.

Young India, 7-3-1929

[1] Not reproduced here

82. A CORRECTION

In the Sind letter P.[1] has inadvertently reported that the national flag was hoisted at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee in Hyderabad and that the Provincial Congress Committee had its own building. The fact however is that the ceremony was performed at the office of the District Congress Committee and that it was the District Congress Committee that had its own building. The headquarters of the Sind Provincial Congress Committee are at Karachi.

Young India, 7-3-1929

83. 'IN POSSESSION'

Mr. Pennington is a nonagenarian. However much one may differ from him, there is no denying his sincerity. He is my unfailing correspondent and is never tired of issuing his periodic warnings to me. Here is his latest:

> I have just been reading your essay on "Congress Initiation" (on p. 5 of the 3rd Jan.)[2] and am more puzzled than ever at your confidence about swaraj—at the end of this year (?). However it happened, *Great Britain is in possession of India*—some, including my old assistant, the late Sir John Rees, M.P., think, by right of conquest (which *is* her title to the Punjab), but most of us, I hope, as trustees for the whole population, especially the lower orders; and as trustees we have *no right to give up our trust* except to somebody considered capable of carrying on the work we have only just begun. Is your National Congress such a body even with you as (shall we say?) President of the Republic? I quite think you are the most likely person for that office, but would you be prepared to undertake the job with or without a British army? If you failed to keep the peace, what then?
>
> Excuse a very brief note: I am now in my 90th year and have no business to be thinking of sublunary things; but I have been more interested in India than even England since 1861. Again wishing you a safe deliverance from all India's troubles and trusting you won't make confusion worse confounded.

[1] Pyarelal

[2] In *Young India*; *vide* Vol. XXXIX, *An Autobiography*, Pt. V, Ch. XXXVIII.

How is one to persuade men like Mr. Pennington that we repudiate the doctrine of trust and that if a plebiscite was taken even those whom he is pleased to call "the lower orders" would do likewise? I happen to know them, if anyone in India does. I make bold to say that with the exception of those who have come under the degrading influence of the brandy bottle the vast majority do not want the protection of self-appointed trustees. Whether it be called trust or conquest, it has been imposed upon the people and is sustained by forcible measures. It is therefore the same thing to us whether Englishmen claim to be in possession by right of conquest or as trustees. It is the thing itself that matters, not its description. Why then should Mr. Pennington be "more puzzled than ever" over my confidence about swaraj at the end of the year? The puzzle is that 300 million people stand dispossessed of their own property and lack confidence about their ability to recover it from plunderers whether they be called conquerors or trustees. If I could but infect the Congressmen with my confidence in our ability to win back our freedom and, what is more, in the correctness of the means suggested for winning it, ten months that remain out of the twelve should prove more than enough for the task. Let me therefore suggest to Mr. Pennington that it is neither armed force nor benevolence that gives Great Britain the possession and the power over India but it is the want of faith of India's children that is responsible for the tragedy. When that faith comes, it will work miracles. And when it has come to us the whole world including even Englishmen like Mr. Pennington will acknowledge our capacity for owning our own property. Nonagenarian though he is, Mr. Pennington must not lose faith in his capacity to live to see that happy day. For I have no doubt that when that day comes, he will feel happy in spite of his reluctance for Englishmen to part with their "trust" as Mr. Pennington is pleased to call the spoliation.

Young India, 7-3-1929

84. HINDI IN EXTREME SOUTH

A little over a hundred miles from Trivandrum, the capital of Travancore, lies the Cape Comorin, where the Indian Ocean meets the Bay of Bengal and where these mingled waters bathe the feet of Mother India. From Trivandrum Sjt. K. G. Shesha Aiyer, President of the Kerala Provincial Hindi Prachar Conference, writes to say that this Conference was held at Ernakulam (Cochin) on 10th February last where the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

> This Conference expresses its deep sense of gratitude to Gandhiji and Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj for their untiring efforts in pushing on the Hindi movement in South India and trying to make Hindi the national language of India and urges on all patriotic sons and daughters of India to help the movement by studying the language themselves and also by contributing to the central fund.

The resolution was moved by Sjt. A. Shankara Puduval, B.A., B.L., seconded by Sjt. K. Karunakar Nair and supported by Sjt. H. D. Kamath.

Now I have not published this resolution to advertise either myself or Sheth Jamnalalji or the parties to the resolution. Everybody knows my keenness about Hindi *prachar* in the South. Sheth Jamnalalji was a confirmed lover of Hindi before I returned to India in 1915. His tour in the South has given a fresh impetus to Hindi propaganda there. The parties to the resolution have had their reward by appearing before audiences that knew them. My object then in publishing the resolution and the names is publicly to express the hope that the gentlemen concerned are in their own persons fulfilling the two objects of the resolution, viz., that they are learning Hindi themselves and also contributing to the central fund. I am using this incident merely to drive home a patent fact. So far as these gentlemen are concerned it is likely that they are Hindi scholars and that they are regular subscribers to the central fund. But it is not to be denied that we have not yet shed the evil habit of moving and supporting resolutions we never intend to carry out ourselves. It would conduce to national progress and save a great deal of time and trouble if we cultivated the habit of never supporting resolutions either by speaking or voting for them if we had not either the intention or the ability to carry them out. I know that wherever

Sheth Jamnalalji and Sjt. Rajagopalachari have gone, the meetings have passed resolutions like the foregoing. If all these good people were to carry out the resolutions, the Hindi propaganda should make rapid progress and be never in want of funds.

Young India, 7-3-1929

85. *THE NATIONAL FLAG*

The ceremony of hoisting the national flag over the Town Hall of the Ahmedabad Municipality brings to mind two letters lying in my file from Gujarati correspondents on the subject. Before coming to the two letters let me repeat my congratulations which I tendered at the time of performing the hoisting ceremony to the Municipality of Ahmedabad on its courage and patriotism in having the national flag for its Town Hall.[1] Such a thing would have been impossible only a few years ago. Sardar Vallabhbhai's brave work in the Municipality has made the hoisting of the national flag quite possible and even natural as was the erection of a bronze statue of Lokamanya Tilak in its only public garden. I can only hope that the Municipal councillors and the citizens of Ahmedabad will never lower the flag and will live up to its dignity, and having erected Lokamanya's statue in its garden will not rest content till the *mantra* of swaraj bequeathed to us by Lokamanya has become a living reality.

But one of the correspondents referred to by me who is an ardent nationalist says that Congress workers and Congress committees nowadays take all sorts of liberty with the national flag. He complains that some do not retain the three colours, others omit the wheel and yet others even use foreign cloth instead of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi. He rightly observes that this treatment of the flag, unconscious though it may be, diminishes its prestige. The other correspondent insists on precision. He says the order of the three colours should be rigidly observed and so the position in the flag of the wheel. I should add that the coloured strips should be parallel and never horizontal. The proportion between the length and width should also be fixed. The length should be twice the width of the flag. The white colour should be on top to be followed by the green and the red should be the last representing as it does the colour of the majority of the inhabitants of India. The minorities other than Hindu and

[1] *Vide* pp. 55-6.

Muslim represented by the white colour being the joint primary care of the latter have their colour on top. The same reasoning puts the Muslim minority the second in order. The wheel should be in the middle of the oblong so as to cover all the colours.

There was an informal discussion over the flag at the last meeting of the Working Committee. I had drawn attention to the irregularity observed about the flag and pointed out too that there was no formal resolution taken by the Working Committee or the All-India Congress Committee about the quality of the national flag. It was however the opinion of the members that the convention about the three colours, the wheel and khadi was so well established that it had attained the force of a rule and that anybody using the flag in any other manner clearly committed a breach.

That being so, I have suggested that the Congress should have these flags of various sizes made and stocked for supply all over India. Then the quality and cheapness will be assured. The cheapest and the most expeditious method is for the All-India Spinners' Association to have these flags prepared and kept for sale on behalf of the Congress at the different stores. As it would be impossible for any individual committee to compete with the All-India Spinners' Association in point of cheapness the flags should find a ready sale all over India, assuming of course that the national revival has set in and that the convention as to the quality is faithfully observed by all Congressmen and Congress organizations.

Young India, 7-3-1929

86. FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

It is a matter of great pleasure to me as I hope it is to every nationalist that Sjt. Jairamdas has been able promptly to respond to my call on behalf of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee to take up its Secretaryship and as a necessary corollary to give up his seat in the Bombay Legislative Council. Jairamdas is not a man to take up a cause he does not believe in. His coming therefore as a whole-time worker is in my opinion a great gain to the movement. If the public will similarly respond to the call that will be made upon them from time to time by the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, the country should be able to show a definite advance inside of a few months. Given popular determination boycott is a matter of careful organization.

Two things will have to go together, sale and production of khadi. The moment there is a real intention on the part of the public for boycott of foreign cloth, there will be a great rush for khadi. If production does not anticipate the demand for khadi, there is danger of a severe disappointment and a consequent loss of faith in the possibility of boycott for mere want of khadi. It is therefore necessary for the public not to purchase more khadi than they need. They should try to cut down their rations as far as possible.

I am studiously silent about the indigenous mills. It is my firm belief that mills, by reason of the limitations under which they must work, will fail us in the end if we rely upon them. Then they, being concerns predominantly for making profits irrespective of national considerations, will not scruple to exploit the public and even to sell foreign cloth as swadeshi. I have already exposed in these pages the fraudulent sale of mill-cloth under the name of khadi.[1] Lastly all mills are not swadeshi because they have their habitation in India as the existing Government is not swadeshi for the mere fact of its habitation being in India. Some of them are foreign in every sense of the term. They are administered by foreigners on behalf exclusively of foreign shareholders with foreign capital. They are here merely to exploit the resources of the country. The only thing they reluctantly contribute is to employ the cheap labour of the country and make a gullible public believe that these are swadeshi concerns.

But this does not mean that the mills will play no part in the boycott compaign. They will, but it will be involuntary and fortuitous. Congressmen will not be able at once to reach every village of India. We will reach the towns and the villages surrounding them. The mills reach every village of India. The atmosphere created in the country will throw the villagers into the arms of the mill-owners' agents and they will buy whatever is given to them by the mills under the name of swadeshi. Congressmen will have to be on the watch regarding their operations. There are some patriotic mills which will refuse to betray the country if they cannot by reason of their limitations give active support. My conviction is that a time must come and that within a few months when the mills will have to make their choice and accept the terms that were offered to them last year. But it will wholly depend upon the determination of the people to boycott foreign cloth at any cost and replace it by genuine khadi. Khadi has no

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 189-90 and 302.

limits. For we have millions of human spindles and lakhs of human looms. The one thing needful is the will to do it.

Young India, 7-3-1929

87. THE "SUTLEJ" TRAGEDY

Dr. Menon writes as follows from Calcutta regarding my article on the *Sutlej* tragedy:[1]

This forceful letter in my opinion makes things look uglier than I thought they were. But I cannot acquit the master and officers as easily as Dr. Menon does. Every Master of a ship is surely responsible for the welfare of the passengers under his charge. I have known humane masters make the lives of passengers happy in difficult circumstances and I have known callous masters make the lives of their charges needlessly unhappy. Indifferent officers often make the lot of passengers unbearable. But it was not my purpose to distribute the blame. It was enough for me to show that the matter could not be regarded as closed because the Government had held what could not be called an impartial inquiry.

Young India, 7-3-1929

88. CHARKHA AS SECONDARY OCCUPATION

I have before me a copy of the paper on secondary occupations read by Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, Hon. Secretary, Provincial Co-operative Institute, Bombay. It is an exhaustive paper containing an examination of most occupations that have from time to time been suggested as capable of being introduced as secondary occupations for the villagers. He rejects some and accepts some as possible. Among the possible and promising secondary occupations, he mentions hand-spinning and devotes to it paragraphs which are worthy of careful study by sceptics. I reproduce them below:[2]

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The correspondent, referring to "The Inhuman System", 7-2-1929 (Vol. XXXIX), had written that the Surgeon-Superintendent and not the Ship's Master was directly and exclusively responsible for the management of the emigrants; that the ships were unsuitable and the Government was to blame for the inhuman system.

[2] The extracts are not reproduced here.

The Rao Bahadur is probably aware that the All-India Spinners' Association is concentrating its attention on organizing hand-spinning in the villages on the self-sufficient basis suggested by him. I commend to his attention the example of Bijolia and Bardoli. At the same time the towns may not be neglected. So much is town life now dominating the villages that unless the towns set fashion in khadi, it becomes most difficult to persuade the villagers to spin even in their own interest and just enough for their own use. Nor is the question of cost quite so simple as the Rao Bahadur imagines. The cotton speculator and the foreign buyer have so disturbed cotton prices and cotton growing that the village often finds it apparently cheaper to buy cloth than to pay for cotton and for weaving. Strange as it may appear, it sometimes happens that the cost of a yard of foreign cloth equals the cost of weaving and not unoften even the cost of cotton required for an equal length of handwoven cloth. I may not go into these intricacies. As a practical spinner I point out the difficulty of the task when there is no State aid and even subtle and subterranean opposition and always indifference to it. Hence the necessity in the initial stage for subsidy and town patronage. Moreover in these days of democracy, the villagers will not understand the philosophy and the truth of khadi if a distinction is drawn between towns and villages. Lastly, since pioneers must be found from the towns, a khadi atmosphere in them is an absolute necessity for nationalizing the reform whose need the Rao Bahadur has so convincingly demonstrated.

Young India, 7-3-1929

89. LETTER TO HORACE G. ALEXANDER

As at the Ashram, Sabarmati,
March 7, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter as also Dr. Vaughan's book. I have gone through the booklet. There is no comparison between Miss Mayo's production and Dr. Vaughan's essay. It is a very serious contribution to a thorny subject. I propose to make use of it in the pages of *Young India*.

I do not know whether I have already written to you telling you that the Quaker books you referred to were duly received by me some months after receipt of your letter. I was grateful for the gift.

You have now learnt why I had to give up the idea of going to Europe.

I have not seen the reference about my wife.[1] But I can tell you that the relations between us are of the happiest kind. It is quite true if the writings gave you the impression that I do not carry my wife with me through her intellect. Her loyalty is amazing and she has followed me through all the transformations that my life has undergone. My own conviction is that most probably the reverence felt by the Indian men towards India's women is quite equal to that felt in the West; but it is of a different type.[2] The Western form of reverence yielding the first place to women and many such other things, seems to me to be highly artificial and sometimes even hypocritical. All the same, there is much to criticize in our treatment of women. Some laws are bad, some husbands are monsters, some parents are heartless towards their daughters. In these matters toleration is, in my opinion, the key to a mutual understanding. Every social institution, however admirable it may be, has its own shortcomings. I know you are too generous to take this paragraph for special pleading in our treatment of women where it falls short of the standard that justice demands. I have simply told you as I have felt.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 1406

[1] In his letter dated February 5, the addressee had written that from some books he had read he got the impression that Gandhiji and Kasturba were "not always of one mind".

[2] The correspondent had, among other things, written: " . . . the biggest stumbling-block to appreciation of the East comes from the belief that Eastern peoples have not learnt the same reverence for women as we have now begun to learn in the West" (S.N. 15329).

90. LETTER TO T. NAGESH RAO

S.S. "ARONDA",
March 7, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. Heart-felt prayer comes as a result of persistent effort without weariness.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. T. NAGESH RAO
TEACHER, BOARD HIGH SCHOOL, PUTTUR
S. CANARA (S. INDIA)

From a photostat: G.N. 9240

91. LETTER TO FRANCISCA STANDENATH

S.S. "ARONDA",
March 7, 1929

CHI. SAVITRI[1],

I have both your entertaining letters. You must not mind all the hostile remarks that critics may make about me, about the Ashram. You must treat them as a test for your spirit of forbearance and charity.

I read all about the severity of the winter there and I knew that you would be suffering greatly. At Sabarmati also we had cold such as living people had not experienced. The water in the buckets, etc., in the Ashram and the reservoir had frozen. But this cold did not last beyond the week. Children enjoyed it.

I do not like at all the attitude of Satyavan's professor. But I suppose it has got to be put up with. I wish that you will both find a way out of that false position. It is injurious to the dignity of man that he should have to pocket his opinion for the sake of retaining a job that brings him his livelihood. There is no hurry. You must think out a remedy.

[1] The addressee and her husband Prof. Frederic Standenath had visited the Ashram in 1928, when Gandhiji named them Savitri and Satyavan.

You remember Rasik? He is no more with us in the body. Ere this reaches you will have read all about him in the pages of *Young India*. Ba was very brave over his death. She no doubt felt the grief very keenly, but she bore it most courageously.

I am now at sea going to Burma. It is a three days' voyage. I have taken this time a deck passage for myself and it has made me happy though I do not have to undergo the discomfort of the deck passage because the Company's officers have placed every facility at my disposal.

I was glad to receive the photographs. Though I do not take any ghee and generally even fruit, I do not feel any the worse for it. I think that raw vegetable makes up for both. It is a great discovery at least for me.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

MRS. FRANCISCA STANDENATH
GRAZ

From a microfilm: MMU/XXII/67

92. A LETTER[1]

S.S. "ARONDA",
March 7, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. The best way to answer your questions is: take as few things as possible and in as small quantities as is consistent with good health. And in making your selection, take those things which are natural for man and take them all as far as possible in the raw state.

You are wrongly informed that I took brandy at Poona. I have never taken it in my life.

The state of liberated man is one of perfect bliss which cannot be described.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm: MMU/XXII/65

[1] The addressee is not known.

93. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON THE SHIP TO RANGOON,
March 7, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have still to hear about Ram Binod's case. Write to me and give me in detail the results of your inquiry in the matter. It will be enough if you address the letter to me at Calcutta. I shall reach Jivanlal's place at Calcutta, Pretoria Street, on the 24th. Post the letter, therefore, so that it may reach the place on the 23rd. Also tell me in the letter what the matter was which called for your inquiry.

Purushottam is quite happy. It is he who reads from the *Gita* to me every day. The sea is very calm, so that I shall enjoy what peace the two or three days of the journey can give me.

There was a suggestion that I should ask you to come to Calcutta, but I don't feel like drawing you away from the Ashram women just now. How can I do that when, after much difficulty, the affairs of their section are at long last running smoothly?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine—Part I, p. 50

94. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Friday [*March 8, 1929*][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must be well by now. I want to be free of anxiety on your account. That can be only when you become brave and self-reliant.

I have reached Rangoon today and am disposing of the mail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3335

[1] Gandhiji arrived in Rangoon on March 8, 1929.

95. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA

RANGOON,
March 8, 1929

As usual Earl Winterton has lived up to his reputation of being ignorant of the situation and facts. He ought to know for instance that everyone here has said that I was arrested though the arrest was a gentlemanly affair. It is no doubt true that it was an arrest under law or else why should there be a personal bond given for my appearance on the 26th instant? Still grosser ignorance is betrayed by Earl Winterton's statement that the Government of Bengal had intimated that lighting of bonfire to burn foreign clothes was illegal. The Government of Bengal has intimated no such thing. It was intimated through the Commissioner of Police that burning of straw and the like is prohibited without previous sanction in or near a public street or thoroughfare and this has reference only to cities. The Earl should know that burning in private premises is still going on and will continue if people have grit truly. It is untrue to say that my persistence led to a *melee*. In spite of my questioning the legality of the notice and instead of therefore testing this legality in a court of law, the police proceeded in their outrageous conduct in seeking to put out the fire even though there was no imminent danger to person or property. Information in my possession goes to show that the figures of injuries to the police are altogether exaggerated and there is wilful suppression of the fact that many members of the public were injured by unnecessary lathi display of the police. The last mis-statement made by the noble Earl is that I had agreed to a condition that there would be no similar bonfire in Calcutta. The truth is that I have agreed that there should be no similar bonfire in Calcutta in public squares and therefore also in public streets. Bonfires continue in private places. Whether the high-handed action of the police authorities has created a new political situation or not, it is too early to say.[1]

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 9-3-1929

[1] *Vide* also pp. 165-7.

96. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, RANGOON[1]

March 8, 1929

As I observe that a majority of this vast audience is Hindustani-speaking, I thought it would be but meet for me to begin my thanksgiving in Hindustani. I am deeply grateful too for the great honour you have conferred upon me by presenting me with this address. I tender my congratulations to you upon the great progress which you are able to record during the 15 or 16 years when I was last in your midst. Whenever I have come to Burma, I have looked forward to the visit. I am in love with the men and women of Burma. You in your address have well said that the people of Burma are generous and liberal-hearted. I know they are generous to a fault. I know also, I recognized it in 1901 when I came here for the first time to see my life-long friend and companion Dr. Mehta, that I did not take much time before I fell in love with the men and women of Burma.

I recognize in your women the freest women in the world. I recognize the openness in men and women of Burma which captivated me. It is therefore a matter of great pleasure to me to come to you for the third time and last time. Although I pay this time largely a business visit in the capacity of a Bania that I am, it gives me unadulterated pleasure that I shall be able to renew, under better auspices, the acquaintance with the Burmese friends. Buddhists in Ceylon as if by instinct claimed me as their own and in spite of my protestations that I was a Hindu of Hindus they claimed me and I felt it an honour that they claimed me as one of their own, as a Buddhist of Buddhists. Undoubtedly if Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, China and Japan would claim me as their own, I should accept that honour readily because I know that Buddhism is to Huduism what Protestantism is to Roman Catholicism, only in a much stronger light, in a much greater degree.

You, Sir, in your address have prided yourself and very properly upon the rapid progress, I was going to say almost phenomenal progress, that the Municipality of this fair city of Rangoon has made during the past 15 years. I know that although

[1] Held at Fytche Square. About 50,000 people attended. The Rangoon Corporation presented Gandhiji an address. Some verbal corrections in the text have been made on the basis of a report in *Young India*, 28-3-1929.

I went about the streets of Rangoon with my friend Dr. Mehta, I should, if I attempted to repeat the performance, lose myself in all the vast streets of Rangoon. Such is the progress which I can see even during the hour when I was driving through your magnificent roads. I only hope that this great progress of your metropolis is a true reflection of the progress of the Burmese farmers, and the Burmese peasantry in the interior. It is sad for me to have to confess to you that the vast progress which to an onlooker the great cities of India seem to have made is not by any means a true indication, indeed not any indication of the progress of the peasantry of India, but I do not propose to take you along the weary path that I have trodden during the past forty years of strenuous public life of a varied character in different parts of the globe.

I consider myself a lover of the municipal life. I think it is a rare privilege for a person to find himself in the position of a municipal councillor. But let me note down for you, as a man of some experience in public life, one indispensable condition to that privilege is that the municipal councillors dare not approach their office from interested or selfish motives. They must approach their sacred task in a spirit of service. They should pride themselves, as I reminded members of the municipality of Karachi, upon calling themselves scavengers. There is a phrase for the municipal corporation in my mother tongue. We call it *kachra-patti* which means literally a scavenging cart. A municipality is nothing if it is not a premier scavenging department embracing all spheres of public and social life of a city, and if it is not saturated with the spirit of scavenging, scavenging not merely by way of looking after the physical sanitation of a city, but also of the internal sanitation of its citizens.

I have pointed out in my wanderings throughout India in reply to numerous corporation addresses that no corporation deserves that name unless it provides for primary education of all its children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, irrespective of status; secondly, it provides cheap and pure milk for every citizen of the place even as you provide postage stamps to everybody who may require them. It must not be beyond the ability of a cosmopolitan city like Rangoon to meet these primary wants of its citizens, on which must largely depend the health of the aged and children, if not of all the citizens. May it fall to your lot to claim the honour of having been the first city in India, or if you like in the East, that provided cheap, pure and unadulterated milk for its citizens.

I have thanked you and I thank you once more for the great honour that you have conferred upon me by presenting me with this address, and I thank this vast audience upon having come here as witnesses to the conferment of this great honour upon me. I hope that I shall do nothing in my life in order to make you regret that you have chosen to honour an humble individual like myself.

The Hindustan Times, 11-3-1929

97. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, RANGOON*[1]

March 8, 1929

FRIENDS,

It has given me special joy that on the very first arrival in Burma I find myself in close touch with Burmese friends, men and women, and Burmese thoughts and aspirations.

I thank you for the paper that you have just read to me for my edification. But you will not expect me to express any opinion upon the many points that you have raised in your paper. It would be pure presumption on my part if I attempted to give my own opinion upon what we have just heard from you. But let me just own to you that [if] it is true that Indians living in your midst have not interested themselves in your political aspirations and in your troubles and sorrows, I should be very sorry to make that discovery. I do not need to study the real situation in order to express what is after all a truism, that those who live and make their livelihood and more in your midst, should identify themselves with your aspirations and be partners in your joys and sorrows.

You inform me that you are holding a big conference on the 23rd or the 22nd instant and that at that conference you propose to pass a resolution for boycott of British goods. I must in all humility warn you against taking any such step. If you will look around yourselves, you will find as practical men and women that if for nothing else, that resolution is useless for this reason that it cannot be reduced to practice by any single one of you. I claim to be an expert in this matter and so I would advise you strongly to do what is your duty — not to proclaim a boycott of

[1] An address on behalf of the General Council of the All-Burmese Association was presented to Gandhiji.

British goods, but all foreign cloth which necessarily includes British cloth.

This limitation is based on practical wisdom which I claim for myself, and secondly, on the creed of non-violence which also I claim to have studied with great reverence and equally great patience and perseverance. The man who is saturated with the spirit of non-violence has never any quarrel with a single individual. His opposition is directed to a system, to the evil that is in man but not against the man himself.

Your quarrel, therefore, is not with the British people, but with the Imperialistic spirit of exploitation of the weak races of the earth. If you will work along these lines — I must not attempt to work out the whole of this proposition, but I must suggest the deduction from premises if you will work it out — the deduction is that this non-violent reasoning puts an automatic restraint on your boycott activity. And the limit is foreign cloth.

Now the mere boycott of foreign cloth does not take you a yard further in your progress towards the amelioration of the peasantry of Burma. I tendered at this evening's meeting, in reply to the Corporation address, my congratulations to the Burmese friends upon their generosity and open-mindedness. But I am sorry that I cannot tender the same congratulations to you upon the industry of the men of Burma. You are satisfied if you scratch the earth a little bit and grow an abundant crop of rice. We also do likewise in several parts of India. But that does not take you through the whole year and no peasantry in the world has yet been found to keep its head above water by working only for a limited period of the year. Well, then, if you import foreign cloth you deny yourselves the privilege and duty of working with your hands and preparing your own cloth. This is like cutting off both your hands.

You have talked, I am afraid, light-heartedly of the spinning-wheel and khadi. Believe me you will fail to introduce the spinning-wheel or rather to reintroduce the spinning-wheel if you will not appreciate this fundamental distinction between the boycott of foreign cloth on the one hand and of British cloth alone on the other.

I will, therefore, ask wiser heads among you to study a little more deeply the immense bearing of the spinning-wheel upon your life as upon that of the starving millions of India.

Young India, 4-4-1929

98. LETTER TO RICHARD B. GREGG

Unrevised

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
March 9, 1929

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have been having your letters most regularly and they enable me to understand things better than I should otherwise do. It is such a nice thing that for other and sound reasons I cancelled my intended tour in Europe and America. I do not know that I could have done better even in Europe though the latest from Andrews says that America would have been a misfire and it would have been well if I had gone to Europe. However, I know that it was the wisest thing for me to have cancelled the Western visit. So many things, I fancy, need my presence here. It would be very good if you can find time to abbreviate Krishna Das's book and get MacMillan & Co. to publish your abbreviation.

I am just now in Burma, the place that has a great fascination for me. Its people are so simple, so generous, and yet so basely exploited. It is a great pity they do not effectively resent their exploitation.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 4661

99. LETTER TO EDMUND PRIVAT

CAMP, RANGOON,
March 9, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. I was indeed looking forward to my tour in Europe this year but owing to the exigencies of the situation in India, I am obliged to cancel the tour. It is difficult now for me to say when, if at all, I shall be able to visit Europe.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

M. EDMUND PRIVAT
SWITZERLAND

From a photostat: G.N. 8790

[1] Permanent address

100. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, RANGOON

March 9, 1929

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I propose to speak to a certain length in Hindustani and as your address is worded in English, I propose to make a brief reply first in English and then say my say in Hindustani.[1] I thank you for this warmth of reception and the kindly sentiments expressed in your address. I am not able just now to appropriate, much less to assimilate, all the compliments that you have paid me. But I could certainly claim two things of which you have made kind mention. The first thing is that my mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realization of freedom of India I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man. My patriotism is not an exclusive thing. It is all-embracing and I should reject that patriotism which sought to mount upon the distress or the exploitation of other nationalities. The conception of my patriotism is nothing if it is not always in every case, without exception, consistent with the broadest good of humanity at large. Not only that but my religion and my patriotism derived from my religion embrace all life. I want to realize brotherhood or identity not merely with the beings called human, but I want to realize identity with all life, even with such beings as crawl on earth. I want, if I don't give you a shock, to realize identity with even the crawling things upon earth, because we claim common descent from the same God, and that being so, all life in whatever form it appears must be essentially one. I can therefore safely claim all the credit that you may choose to give me in describing my mission of brotherhood of man. As a necessary corollary you may naturally mention, as you have kindly mentioned, untouchability. I have said times without number that untouchability is a serious blot on Hinduism and, I think, in the long run, in the race for life in which all the religions of the world are today engaged, either Hinduism has got to perish or un-

[1] This sentence is extracted from a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 10-3-1929.

touchability has to be rooted out completely, so that the fundamental principle of Advaita Hinduism may be realized in practical life. Beyond these two things among those that you have mentioned in your address I am unable today to appropriate or assimilate anything. It will be time enough to pronounce a verdict upon my work after my eyes are closed and this tabernacle is consigned to the flames.

You have very kindly asked me to give the indigenous population of Burma some advice. I must own to you that I regard myself as altogether unfit for giving you any advice. My study of your great traditions is merely superficial. My study of your present-day problems is still more superficial, although I yield to none in my love and admiration for you to which I gave expression yesterday at two meetings. I wish I had all the facts before me. I wish that all the different parties in Burma could meet me and I could gain access to your hearts. My heart is there open to receive you, but it is for you to call and certainly that call will not be in vain. And if I find I have enough material before me to give you even provisional limited advice I should be at your disposal.[1]

Young India, 4-4-1929

101. *ADVICE TO ME*

After reading the article "Fear of the Penal Code", a gentleman writes to say:[2]

Many young widows not only stay with me, but live here as if they were my daughters. But neither I nor anyone else is capable of giving them away in marriage. I find that present-day reading has become so superficial that no one is prepared to ponder on what they have read. My articles on widow-remarriage are full of qualifications. Their purpose is to show that it is a good deed to marry off a widow who is a child, who was married without her consent and who will be happy if someone gives her away in marriage. It can never be my intention to

[1] Gandhiji then spoke in Hindi. Appealing for more funds he pointed out that the bulk of the collection would go to the Khadi Fund and benefit the starving millions of India.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The writer had asked Gandhiji to set an example to society by arranging marriages of the young widows among his associates.

marry off a sensible widow by force or inducement. There is an atmosphere of *brahmacharya* around the widows who live here. They are wise. They know that they have the liberty to remarry. They can freely express their wishes to me. I cannot do more than this. I would not go beyond this and I wish that no one would.

I am continuing efforts to see that the child-widows who want to, get married. But not many such are to be found. Their parents would not let them get away from them. They would neither give them away in marriage nor allow them to marry on their own. In such matters parental restraint is detrimental and promotes *adharma* in the name of dharma. They are not aware that, because they are shackled by tradition, they are crushed, the girls in their care are also being subjected to the same treatment. I entertain the hope that those young unmarried women and child-widows who are staying with me would by the strength of their *tapascharya* break the restrictions imposed upon child-widows. They will not be setting a noble example by getting married, but by willingly observing *brahmacharya* they can acquire the strength to break the restrictions imposed upon girls.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 10-3-1929

102. SPEECH AT GUJARATIS' MEETING, RANGOON

March 10, 1929

Whichever part of India we may visit, we find Gujaratis and Marwaris there. Only these two communities are in a position to carry on trade in khadi. What a shame, therefore, that the Khadi Bhandar here in Rangoon has to be carried on with such great difficulty! I find it intolerable that not a single Gujarati here wears khadi. Most of you are independent men; those who are traders have no excuse whatever for not wearing khadi. If those who work in English establishments are likely to lose their jobs because of khadi, it is better that they give up service. After so many years' training, I expect every Gujarati to show enough courage to give up his job on that account. How many of you read *Navajivan*?[1] I am surprised to know that there are still Gujaratis who do not read *Navajivan*. I do not want to ask how many purchase that paper because I do not care whether you

[1] At this most of the audience raised their hands.

buy it or not. By God's grace we never had to run it at a loss, though it does not sell now as much as it used to at one time. I have no doubt that Gujaratis will continue to run *Navajivan*. Since most of you read *Navajivan*, I shall not say much about khadi.

But I spoke to you once about your school and I wish to do so again. You must add lustre to your school; you must adorn it. There is no such thing as pure altruism. There is self-interest in all altruism, but that self-interest which includes the interest of others is called altruism. What I am saying about khadi is a matter of such altruism. But this school is a matter that concerns your self-interest. Your trade and your dealings need a certain amount of knowledge and your school should be fully equipped to provide it. Today we are sitting in a rented hall. You should own a hall bigger than this. I know many shortcomings of the English, but they have also many good qualities worthy of emulation. They too came as traders and have remained traders, but what fine arrangements they have made for their children! They have set up big schools in places like Darjeeling and Simla. They spend enormous sums on the education of their children. You too should establish a school for your children where they will get good air and incidentally get an object-lesson in cleanliness. Build your school in a place which will ensure this.

Those who stay outside Gujarat have twofold responsibility. There are a number of Kathiawaris here. There certainly is truth in Navalram's utterance: "People sweeter than honey have I seen here." We should leave our province only after having rid ourselves of bad habits like scheming, flattery, etc., which find an echo in this statement. In Gujarat we live in our own society and so many of our faults remain hidden, the society being large. Here, in a small society, our shortcomings will be immediately discovered. Foreigners have a way of judging a whole community from a single man in a foreign land. But just as a man like Andrews comes to India and makes us forget blemishes of other Englishmen, so you too should learn to overcome your shortcomings and to give a good account of yourselves. You represent not only Gujarat but the whole of India. Burma was not a part of India at all. This is not what we call Bharatvarsha. Since you have come here as foreigners, you should become one with the people here as sugar dissolves in milk. Your lives should be noble and no action of yours should offend anyone.

Do you believe that money cannot be earned by honest means? It is wrong to suppose that trade cannot be carried on ethically. I have a number of examples. Take the case of

Jamnalalji himself. When he came in contact with me 12 years ago, he used to keep at a distance from me and observe me. He is a remarkable man, a man who closely observes the efforts of others and acts after great deliberation. I am a witness to the very honest way in which he has been carrying on his trade. Another hallowed name is that of Omar Haji Amod Zaveri. One cannot say that he always made money, but even today he is worth lakhs and I am not aware that he has ever earned money dishonestly. Hence I know that one can become a millionaire, if not a multi-millionaire, the moral way.

Many have doubts about my conduct in respect of the Hindu-Muslim question. Many people hold that I have committed a grave blunder in joining hands with the Ali Brothers and in giving them importance. But even today I do not regret having established relations with them. I do not bargain for anything in return when I make friendships. Friendship is not a bargain, it is a one-sided affair. A man who demands a return cannot be said to be establishing a friendship. A man who wishes to follow ahimsa day and night can never act otherwise, can never establish a friendship in any other way. Even today if a crisis like that of the Khilafat were to arise, I would stake my life over it, even today I would offer the same assistance to Muslims in their difficulty. You may say that there is a great awakening among the Muslims as a result of my activity, but is the awakening among the Hindus less? I am certainly not so vain as to believe that I have brought it about, I was only an instrument, but I do not feel the slightest remorse for my conduct. I learned to have friendship for the Muslims long long ago. Even in South Africa I had Muslim friends and, though there had been occasions when I received abuse, I maintain today that I have served the world through such friendship. I do not believe I have done anything wrong in asking your service or money for the Muslims. Your dharma will endure if you practise it; the same is true of self-respect and freedom. There is cowardice in saying that we have suffered because of our dealings with anybody. There is no loss to us if we are cheated by anyone, but the day we cheat others, we should take it that we have suffered loss. Hence we should pray that, rather than that we cheat the world, the world should cheat us and, if we want to be cheated by the world, we should cultivate faith in it. Do you know how to put this into practice? In my dealings with others I should not exercise greater circumspection than I would in the case of my son. Just as I would take a receipt for money I give to my son, I

would do the same in regard to others. Having lent him some money, I shall not fear that I shall suffer loss.

This said, I ask you hesitatingly whether you will be able to donate anything for the Jamia Millia. Give if you can. I have come here only for khadi work, hence I shall say only one thing. A man who does too many things may trip; God alone has the power to do many things. He stays apart despite doing many things. Hence, if you have not caught the contagion of hatred of Muslims and if you have faith — not because I ask you, but if you have independent faith — do give.

I am surprised at receiving a note asking what was done about the Tilak Swaraj Fund. I say that there has not been a single fund involving a crore of rupees which was utilized as well as the Tilak Swaraj Fund has been. How much do you have to write off as loss every year in your business? It must be at least five per cent. In this deal of a crore, there was no loss of even five per cent. And what little loss there was, was certainly not due to anyone having misappropriated any money.

Its accounts are not secret. They are available in the office of Revashanker Jagjivan. I want to tell you, if you do not know it, that it was not I that received that one crore of rupees. Many Marwaris had kept their contributions in reserve and therefore established trusts. Ramnarayan Sheth's trust money is still there intact. Barrister Jayakar and Umar Sobhani paid Rs. 25,000 each and this amount was utilized for *The Independent.* I had misread the telegram sent by the Deshbandhu about his having received Rs. 15 lakhs. Out of it, he had not received in cash even Rs. 5 lakhs. The money collected in the Punjab Lalaji kept in that province only. Of course, there is a general account. The Gujaratis had made a big contribution. I had appointed trustees in Bombay for the Bombay collection. That money is even today in charge of the trustees. The Congress House in Bombay has been built with the money from those very funds. Today the Congress office runs because of that money and there is an open account of every pice that has been spent. I, however, cannot say whether all the money has been well spent or not. People of the different provinces spent the money as they thought fit, but while doing so no one has misappropriated anything or given anything to their relatives, and a correct account of expenditure is available even today.

But now I am engaged in an even greater enterprise. Remember that there will be such a boom in the trade in khadi that people will throw away the foreign clothes on their bodies

as they would shake off ants. You can see the accounts of the Charkha Sangh whenever you like. Jamnalalji and Shankerlal Banker are in charge of organizing it and they are so careful that, if I wanted to use or give away money somewhere, they would check me. It is not that we did not come across cunning banias who misappropriated funds. There may be one cheat in a thousand in our administrative group. But khadi work is known all over the world. You will know how much hard labour has been put in regard to khadi if you have been reading the Bardoli articles. Vallabhbhai would not have been able to launch the Bardoli Satyagraha without the potency of khadi. But today I want to make khadi universal and to carry its message to every home.

I desire that you should take interest even in the activity concerning service of the cow. We are today in a position to produce *shuddha*[1] footwear, which I would not hesitate to put on even while visiting a temple. Do take interest in that activity and promote true cow-protection. I have said a good deal and can say a good deal more; but remember I have said what I did in order to move you to donate money.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-3-1929

103. SPEECH TO ARYA SAMAJISTS, RANGOON[2]

March 10, 1929

I go about calling myself a Sanatani Hindu. That nevertheless you regard me as an Arya Samajist only shows your generosity. Your love fills me with joy. I have great regard for the Arya Samaj. What is controversial in the Arya Samaj will be forgotten in the course of time, but its services and those of Rishi Dayanand to Hindu society will be ever remembered. The Rishi proclaimed to Hindu society the *mantra* of *brahmacharya*, insisted on spread of Hindu culture and underlined the importance of the study of the Vedas. This service of the Rishi cannot be forgotten. To be sure I don't think much of his talk about Hinduism and the Arya Samaj being separate entities. In my opinion the Arya Samaj is a branch of Hinduism and every Arya Samajist is a Hindu. I will only say to the Arya Samajists: cultivate all the virtues that you

[1] Literally, 'pure'; here, made of the hide of dead animals
[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma

claim for yourselves; practise them in your lives wherever you happen to be.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 4-4-1929

104. SPEECH TO INDIAN GATE-KEEPERS[1], RANGOON

March 10, 1929

If you think there is anything mean or bad about your occupation you are mistaken. When calamity threatens your employer you are called upon to protect not only his property but his family and his honour. It is no small responsibility. Lakshman, after all, only served as a gate-keeper to Rama. You will recall that as a consequence of what occurred while he was thus employed, Lakshman had to stake his life in battle. How sacred Lakshman considered the office of a gate-keeper and how he brought honour to it! If you think the status of a gate-keeper is low I may tell you that the British Government likes to be considered the gate-keeper of India, guarding India's gates and yet it has today become the master of India. So acquire the qualities that are required of a gate-keeper. So fortify your character that you can withstand the strongest temptation. Develop such courage that when occasion arises you can sacrifice your life for your employer.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 4-4-1929

105. SPEECH AT INDIANS' MEETING, RANGOON

March 10, 1929

There has been a complaint against you to which I want to draw your attention. It is that the Indians do not share the Burmans' lot, but they cause them harm. I hope that there is exaggeration in this complaint but I am afraid that there is some grain of truth in it. For I noted such a habit in the Indians in Ceylon and also those in South Africa. Therefore I am not very much surprised to hear of it here. I must ask you to have

[1] These men, mostly from Gorakhpur, presented to Gandhiji a purse of Rs. 1,811. The report is extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

due regard for the people of the country which enables you to earn your bread and more than that — to amass wealth. I appeal to you not to forget your brethren of Burma. There is an additional reason for the Hindus to do so: they are Indians and follow Buddhism, which is an offshoot of Hinduism. So you should feel sorry when they are unhappy and rejoice in their welfare. Your conduct should be such that you would not have to feel sorry for it before God. It should be such that the Burmese would not mind if you stayed on in Burma. That many people have come here from India would be a good thing if you mingle freely with the Burmese. Try to understand their viewpoint and help them where you should. From my forty years' experience, I tell you that nothing will be lost if we deal with the world in this way.

Do not tell me that I have become a saint and you cannot do what I can. I do not claim to be a saint. I too have to feed myself, I have my wife, children and relatives. It is not that I talk of high wisdom, having come to the brink of death. I am talking of the experiences I had, when I was a young man. There are many who live by honest labour, doing daily work, with God as their witness. So do not disregard what I say.

My dress is not that of a fakir, but that of a Dhed, a Bhangi or a coolie. But those Dheds and coolies are not fakirs. They too earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. He who engages in trade with honesty earns his livelihood and also earns peace in the next world.

I have come here as a mendicant. I want to do business on behalf of sixty million Indians by robbing the Indian brethren here and I also want to prepare your children for independence. Further, I have come here to beg money for those who do not get even a crust of bread. I am glad that I have not spent this day in extracting money but have utilized it in getting acquainted with you, residents of Burma. Know me as I am and then give me something if you like to.[1]

Remember that I expect not only the Gujaratis but the Bengalis, Punjabis, and Tamilians to give me as much as they can, though I will certainly dig my hands deeper into the Gujaratis' pockets than into those of others. The Chettis who deal in crores and have lacs of rupees worth of property may not disregard my claim. Let them not forget that I also belong to their class, I am a Gujarati Chetti. I ask you to remember that it is

[1] The following paragraph is taken from an account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal published in *Young India*, 28-3-1929.

after 14 years that I am paying this visit to Burma. You do not mind even a famine coming once in fourteen years and try to face it as bravely as you can. I hope then that you will satisfy the hunger, to the best of your ability, of this representative of *Daridranarayana*, coming to you once in fourteen years who may never again be in your midst. But pray don't forget that *Daridranarayana's* appetite is insatiable.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

106. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, RANGOON[1]

March 10, 1929

FELLOW STUDENTS AND FRIENDS,

I tender my hearty thanks for your address as also for what I hope is a generous purse for *Daridranarayana*. Those of you who are Indians are not unaware of the meaning of *Daridranarayana* but the Burmese students may not perhaps know its significance. *Daridranarayana* is one of the millions of names by which humanity knows God Who is unnamable and unfathomable by human understanding, and it means God of the poor, God appearing in the hearts of the poor. It was the name used in one of his intuitive and sacred moments by the late Deshbandhu Das. It is not a name adopted by me out of my own experience, but it is a heritage from Deshbandhu. He used the word in connection with the mission to which among several others my life is dedicated, I mean the gospel of the charkha or the spinning-wheel. I know there are still many who laugh at this little wheel and regard this particular activity of mine as an aberration. In spite of the criticism and ridicule which is levelled at it I adhere to the gospel of the spinning-wheel as one of my most substantial activities, and I feel certain—as I am certain that I am addressing you at the present moment—that a time is coming when all the scoffing will cease and the scoffers will kneel and pray with me that the spinning-wheel may find an abiding place in the desolate homes of the underfed, starving millions of India. I have not hesitated to bring that message to the Indians who have found their home here. I have no right to approach the Burmans with an appeal for funds for khadi, but I think I have

[1] The meeting was held in the Jubilee Hall. A purse of Rs. 1,000 was presented to Gandhiji.

a right to approach the Indians who find their livelihood and more in this land of yours, and to ask them to part with their substance for feeding *Daridranarayana.*

A friend told me, I do not know with how much authority, that there was a talk amongst the students that it was not proper for me to make collections for khadi in Burma, and that I must devote something for some work to be done in Burma for the Burmans. If there is any Burman here with that conviction, he will, I hope, go away at the end of the meeting convinced that it will not be right on my part to use any part of the moneys here to purposes in Burma. It should hurt your dignity, it should hurt your self-respect to bring a man all the way from Sabarmati to raise funds for local enterprise. You should be able to find the wherewithal for those purposes and leave me free to do whatever I can for my mission on behalf of the starving millions of India.

You have claimed for me an honour in connection with the student world which I dare not appropriate. But I am endeavouring to claim another honour and that is to become a servant of the student world—not only of India, not only of Burma, but, if it is not too high a claim, the student world throughout the universe. I am in touch with some students in the remotest corners of the earth, and if God gives me a few more years I might be able to make good that claim. I know that I have established a vital connection with thousands and thousands of students in India. I was wondering whether the majority of students here would be Indians or Burmese—I should have been glad to know the percentage of Indians, I should have loved to know something of the life of the students here. But it does not matter whether you are Burmese or Indians, you have used the proper word for the mass of students all over the world—the students' republic. You have claimed for yourself irresponsibility. May it be yours, if it be within limits. The moment the limits are crossed you will cease to be students. A student does not cease to be a student the moment he leaves his scholastic career. At any rate, looking back to 40 years I find that when I left my studies I was entering the threshold of the student's career. And as one who has had some experience of life, take it from me that mere book reading will be of little help to you in after life. I know from correspondence with the students all over India what wrecks they have become by having stuffed their brains with information derived from a cartload of books. Some have become unhinged, others have become lunatics, some have

been leading a life of helpless impurity. My heart goes out to them when they say that try as much as they might, they are what they are, because they cannot overpower the devil. 'Tell us,' they plaintively ask, 'how to get rid of the devil, how to get rid of the impurity that has seized us.' When I ask them to take Ramanama and kneel before God and seek His help, they come to me and say, 'We do not know where God is. We do not know what it is to pray.' That is the state to which they have been reduced. I have therefore been asking the students to be on their guard, not to read all the literature that is within their reach, and I ask their teachers to cultivate their hearts and establish with the students a heart-contact. I have felt that the teachers' work lies more outside than inside the lecture-room. In this work-a-day life where teachers and professors work for the wages they get they have no time to give to the students outside the class-room, and that is the greatest stumbling-block in the development of the life and character of students today. But unless the teachers are prepared to give all their time outside the class-room to their students, not much can be done. Let them fashion their hearts rather than their brains. Let them help them to erase every word out of their dictionary which means disappointment and despair. I am trying to put before you all that is welling up in my breast. Pray don't interrupt it with your applause. It will stand between yourselves and your hearts. Never own a defeat in a sacred cause and make up your minds henceforth that you *will* be pure and that you *will* find a response from God. But God never answers the prayers of the arrogant, nor the prayers of those who bargain with Him. Have you heard the story of *Gajendra Moksha*? I ask the Burmese students here who do not know one of the greatest of all poems, one of the divinest things of the world, to learn it from their Indian friends. A Tamil saying has always remained in my memory and it means, God is the help of the helpless. If you would ask Him to help you, you would go to Him in all your nakedness, approach Him without reservations, also without fear or doubts as to how He can help a fallen being like you. He Who has helped millions who have approached Him, is He going to desert you? He makes no exceptions whatsoever and you will find that every one of your prayers will be answered. The prayer of even the most impure will be answered. I am telling this out of my personal experience, I have gone through the purgatory. Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven and everything will be added unto you. Do not go to your books or to your teachers with impure

hearts. Go with the purest hearts and you will get from them what you want. If you want to become patriots, real patriots and protectors of the weak, espousers of the cause of the poor and the oppressed to whom the education you get is not available, if you want to become guardians of the purity of every girl and woman in Burma, purify your hearts first. If you approach your mission in life in that spirit all will be well.

Young India, 4-4-1929

107. SPEECH AT SHAWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON

March 10, 1929

I had an exhausting day. Therefore I have been obliged not to make any lengthy speech. You will understand me when I tell you that I have not much energy left in me to give you a long speech in a loud voice.[1]

To see on this elevated and sacred site so many Phoongys and such a vast audience is no doubt an inspiring sight, and if I had enough energy left in me at the end of the day, under that inspiration I might have delivered a pretty long speech. But this I would say to the Phoongy friends that in common with the rest of the priesthood of the world you are being weighed in the balance. I was glad to find you telling me that the Phoongys were leading the political movement in Burma, but you have a very serious responsibility upon your shoulders when you undertake to lead the political battle. History shows that the priesthood has not always interfered with political matters to the benefit of mankind. Very often unworthy ambition has moved the priesthood of the world as it has moved unscrupulous men to take part in politics, and if now you Phoongys aspire to lead the political movement of this one of the fairest lands on the face of the earth, you are shouldering a tremendous responsibility. I would ask you not only to be pure beyond suspicion, but I would ask you to combine with stainless purity great wisdom and great ability. This very essential condition being granted, you will find that the whole of Burma will be at your beck and call and will respond to your lead. May the spirit of the great Lord Buddha under whose shadow we are now seated guide everyone connected with the movement.

[1] This paragraph is taken from a report in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 12-3-1929. What follows is taken from the account by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

I thank you for gracing this occasion by your presence and I thank you for the warmth with which you have received me ever since I landed on your hospitable shore. I wish everything that is good to the simple-hearted people of Burma.[1]

Young India, 28-3-1929

108. ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS[2]

RANGOON,
March 10, 1929

Q. What is the present political condition in India?

A. In the melting pot.

Q. What form of Government do you expect to get immediately for India?

A. The form of Government described in the Nehru Report.

Q. Do you think you can get Dominion Status?

A. Most decidedly.

Q. Should Dominion form of Government be accepted as most suitable for the present or should it be the goal of Indian aspirations?

A. In my opinion Dominion Status can become the final form of Government for India if it is obtained in the way and in the form that I have postulated. If it means a partnership at will on a basis of equality with full freedom for either party to secede whenever it should wish I for one should be content with it.

Q. Do you consider that India should be in the British Empire?

A. Not in the British Empire as it is today but in it as I conceive it.

Q. Do you intend to take part in the discussions in England or in India if you are invited by the British Parliament regarding Indian Reforms?

A. Yes. If the invitation is *bona fide* and sincere.

[1] This paragraph is taken from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* report.

[2] A deputation of Saydos, heads of the Buddhist religious orders in Burma, presented Gandhiji a long interrogatory. The replies given here are collated with a report in *The Tribune* and the account by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

Q. Do you think that it is in the interests of Burma that it should be part of India for ever?[1]

A. It is a difficult question for me to answer. All I can say is that it will be worth the while of Burma to remain part of India if it means a partnership at will on a basis of equality with full freedom for either party to secede whenever it should wish. The main thing is that Burma should have an absolute right to shape her destiny as she likes.

Q. Do you consider that the line adopted by Swarajists in India helps the cause of the country for getting the form of Government they aspire to have?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Will Indians in Burma join hands with the Burmans in the boycotting of foreign goods and in helping the local industry?

A. Not in the boycott of foreign goods but in the boycott of foreign cloth. Boycott of all foreign goods is a wild goose chase. But the boycott of all foreign cloth is within the range of present possibility and it will do you good to accomplish it. In this work India will join hands with you. And India would be an unworthy neighbour and nothing good if she does not help your local industries.

Q. What protection should be given to minorities in Burma?

A. The same protection should be given to Indian minorities in Burma as it is to be given to minorities in India, nothing more. If we cannot stay here on our merits, we should retire.

Q. What advice can you give to us and Indians to secure the willing co-operation of both communities, rich and poor alike, in Burma to get the form of Government we aspire for?

A. We should approach each other not in a spirit of suspicion and distrust but that of amity and goodwill. A whole community should not be damned because there are a few scoundrels in it. Each community should live in a neighbourly co-operation with the other; and not seek to dominate over the other. It is clear, therefore, that if any party relies on the strength of the British bayonet for the protection of its supposed interests, there can be no real co-operation between it and other communities. Our culture is substantially the same as yours; although in externals we may differ. I wish we could take a leaf out of the

[1] This question and its answer are taken from *Young India*.

history of China in this respect where the Confucians, Buddhists, Christians and Mohammedans mingle together and regard themselves as Chinese rather than the followers of this or that religion. Take Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Malaya, Japan and India — there is something fundamentally common between them all, which should make it possible for them to co-operate with each other in combating the common danger of Western exploitation.

Q. What line of action do you consider we should adopt in view of our present political condition in Burma?

A. The conditions in India and Burma, so far as I can see, are much the same. I have there[fore] the same remedy to recommend to both, i.e., non-violent non-co-operation. But I am no judge of the local situation. You should study the movement carefully and evolve a policy of national action in accordance with your peculiar environment and social conditions. I do not want a mere mechanical imitation on your part. There must be a conviction behind it, a determination to put it into practice. My opinion I consider to be worth nothing if only because I cannot remain here to enforce it. You say you have no powerful organization in your country that can mobilize you to common action like the National Congress in India. The best thing for you, therefore, is to have a body answering to the Congress in India, a body of pure and selfless workers who would depend not on the strength of numbers but on the strength of quality.

Q. Are Indian leaders willing to discuss things with Burmans regarding the allocation of subjects?

A. I see no reason why they should not.[1]

The Saydos complained to Gandhiji that they had no central body in Burma that could effectively mobilize their nation to action. Gandhiji told them that the remedy lay in their own hands, if they could only play their part.

In this land of monks and monasteries, where women enjoy such freedom and equality of status with men, where the people are so simple-minded, with such an amazing faith, you should be able to work wonders if you Phoongys would only shake off lethargy and inertia. Yours should not be merely passive spirituality that spends itself out in idle meditation, but it should be an active thing which will carry the war into the enemy's camp and set the spirit of Burma ablaze from one corner of the land to the

[1] What follows has been taken from *Young India*.

other. It should burn out all the sloth in you and the impurity from your surroundings. You will not today hurt a fly, such is your peaceful nature, but that is not enough; no Phoongy who does not feel hurt when a fly is hurt and go out of his way to save it has a right to wear the Phoongy's dress. You have renounced the world and taken to a life of religion. A person in your position would fear neither kings nor emperors nor even the public. For what matters it to him whether he gets even food and raiment or not? Walking always in the light of God, steadfast in his devotion to truth, he should stand [up] four square to all injustice, impurity and wrong wherever it may be found. Such is the internal strength I want you to cultivate.

Young India, 28-3-1929, and *The Tribune*, 9-4-1929

109. SPEECH TO LABOURERS, RANGOON[1]

March 10, 1929

Perhaps you do not know that at the time of the Tilak Swaraj Fund collection I was offered fifty thousand rupees as subscription to the Fund if only I would visit a professional performance for ten minutes. But I declined. It is not that I disdain to mix with and move among the professional actors' world, for there is no class of humanity with which I do not claim kinship; but a person in my position has necessarily to guide his conduct not merely with reference to himself but also to the effect that his example might have on others. Whatever may be the pros and cons of going to the public theatre, it is a patent fact that it has undermined the morals and ruined the character of many a youth in this country. You grown-up people, may regard yourselves as immune from the insidious effects of the theatre on yourselves, but you ought to have regard for your little children whose innocence you expose to an unconscionable strain by taking them to questionable performances. Look around you. We are situated in the midst of a raging fire. The cinema, the stage, the race-course, the drink-booth and the opium-den—all these enemies of society that have sprung up under the fostering influence of the present

[1] A theatrical performance had been organized on behalf of the labourers, who had promised to pay the proceeds to Gandhiji. He was under the impression that he was going to a labour demonstration and was amazed to find himself in a theatre. The speech is extracted from the account by Mahadev Desai and Pyarelal of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

system threaten us on all sides. Is it any wonder, then, that I have not hesitated to call the present system Satanic? My advice to you therefore is, beware of pitfalls.

And you members of the histrionic profession, you may if you like continue to follow your avocation, but preserve your purity. I know the terrible temptations to which you are exposed and if you cannot follow your profession without losing your purity, for heaven's sake throw it up without a moment's consideration. God will take care of you. A labourer is always worthy of his hire.

Young India, 28-3-1929

110. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

RANGOON,
March 11, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your four letters, three today. There are only three sailings to and fro. But you need not worry about them. I do not go away from Rangoon for many days at a time. I leave Burma 21st instant to stand trial[1]. I expect to reach Calcutta 24th and hope to leave it 26th.

Such fear as you had this time is perhaps inevitable. Take every precaution you can and have no nervousness if it comes in spite. Starvation is undoubtedly the best and the speediest cure. Do not mind the weakness. And do not take up more burden than you can easily shoulder. "Hasten slowly."

I have a letter from Privat.[2] Everything that is happening here shows the wisdom of my not having gone to Europe this year. The call will be clear and the way will be open, when the real time has come.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

Did I tell you Zakir Husain is with me? The more I see him the more I like him. All's well.

From the original: C.W. 5349. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9405

[1] It was to be held in the court of the Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, on March 26, 1929.

[2] *Vide* p. 108.

111. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

RANGOON,
Silence Day [*March 11, 1929*][1]

SISTERS,

Today I have just enough time to drop a line to you to show that I remember you.

I may get your letter, if at all, by the next mail. Letters take a full seven days to reach me here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro – 1: Ashramni Behnone, p. 50

112. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, March 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got three mails together today.

We are leaving for Moulmein tonight and shall be returning from there on Wednesday. There will be one more mail by then. The next mail will arrive here on Tuesday. I return to you the cloth-lined envelopes, so that you can use them. I shall use one such envelope for today's post.

The collection is going on quite well here.

As you cultivate more and more patience your difficulties will disappear.

It is certainly necessary to use the buildings which remain unoccupied.

You will have to be firm in dealing with Durga and Maitri. Love and firmness are not opposed to each other. In a difficult hour, only love can remain firm, for it fears nothing. When an expert surgeon uses his knife, a bystander will faint; but should the surgeon make a mistake in using the knife, the patient will lose his life.

Take Chhaganlal Gandhi's help whenever you need. He is a man who always works to the best of his ability. Only, one

[1] The source has "March 4, 1929" which is evidently a slip.

should know how to preserve good relations with him. One should know that he is old and respect his old age. He cannot help much now when he cannot work in peace or when he must do things in a hurry. But he can do much, working slowly and in a congenial atmosphere.

All of you should think about the problem of Parnerkar's mother.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall be accompanied by Ratilal and Champa, and they will require the first floor of the bungalow. They will engage their own servants and, therefore, we shall not have to do much for them.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5391

113. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

RANGOON,
March 11, 1929

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

As there is a case pending against me in a Calcutta court, a definite date can be given only after the hearing of the case. You should not, therefore, expect from me much advance notice. Wire to me at Calcutta on the 25th. If you are keen that this ceremony should be performed only by me, I request you not to be in a hurry for the present. Wait till I have more time.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAI BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA
275 HORNBY ROAD
FORT, BOMBAY

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6592

114. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

RANGOON,
Silence Day [March 11, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Why the listlessness? Why the crying? Why the sorrow? No one can stay on with us for ever. Let us love all and feel the love of all. While following the path of service how can we have time to think of anything else?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not asked Father about Andhra. I shall do so now.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3332

115. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

MOULMEIN (BURMA),
March 12, 1929

I have your letter. Yes. It is quite a good idea your staying out the summer in England watching events and holding yourself in readiness for anything that may crop up.[2]

About the stirring things happening here you have the pages of *Young India* which I hope you are getting regularly.

If I collapse as I did in Kolhapur be it so. I am trying to conserve myself as much as possible, but I feel that I may not shirk the work that has come upon me.

I am dictating this under great pressure from Moulmein.

C. F. ANDREWS, ESQ.
C/o MRS. ELMHURST
1172 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: S.N. 13372

[1] From Gandhiji's presence in Rangoon

[2] In his letter dated February 4, Andrews had asked: "Is it better for me this summer to remain in England on my return? I am trying hard to make my countrymen realize the immediate necessity of granting Dominion Status to India. . . ."

116. LETTER TO PROFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH

MOULMEIN,
March 12, 1929

DEAR PROFULLA BABU,

I have your letter. I telegraphed[1] as soon as I got your telegram and I hope that Dr. Ansari will perform the ceremony.

I shall be returning to Calcutta on the 24th instant and shall be there till the 26th instant. You don't want any special instructions now about the boycott of foreign cloth. The thing is plain sailing. But perhaps we shall meet during my stay in Calcutta.

Yours sincerely,

DR. PROFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH
ABHOY ASHRAM
COMILLA

From a photostat: S.N. 13376

117. LETTER TO T. N. KALIDASS

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I shall not be able to go through the papers you have sent me for the time being at least. You will have to be satisfied with whatever I am able to write in *Young India* out of my experience. I might endeavour to draft model instructions and publish them in *Young India.*

Yours sincerely,

SJT. T. N. KALIDASS
HIGH COURT VAKIL
THE RAILWAY PASSENGERS ASSOCIATION
TANJORE
S. INDIA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13375

[1] The telegram is not available.

118. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

MOULMEIN,
March 12, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

This I am dictating just for the sake of writing to you from Moulmein. Moulmein is beautifully situated. The house overlooks the Bay. It is a little place containing a population of 60 thousand. It is therefore very peaceful. The real heat has not yet commenced. Today here it is exceptionally cool because it is rainy.

I hope you have now shed all the weakness left by the fever.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
CHHATWAN CHHOTTAIPATTI
DT. DARBHANGA, BIHAR

From the original: C.W. 5350. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9406

119. LETTER TO RAMADEV

MOULMEIN,
March 12, 1929

DEAR RAMADEVJI,

As you have well said there is no hope of my attending the Gurukul anniversary this year. My message to the *snatakas* is:

"You will be judged not by your English learning nor either by your Sanskrit, but you will be judged by your character shown in a thousand ways in the daily activities of life. You will be judged by your showing that complete *brahmacharya* in thought, word and deed is a present-day possibility."

By the way, you have not yet sent me a copy of your address to the Gujarat Vidyapith students. I want you to help in every way you can the foreign-cloth boycott.

Yours sincerely,

ACHARYA RAMADEV
GURUKUL KANGRI, DT. BIJNOR

From a photostat: S.N. 13377

120. *LETTER TO NALINI MOHAN RAYCHOWDHURY*

CAMP, MOULMEIN,
March 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your telegram. I am sorry that a previous public appointment for the same date on which the Provincial Conference takes place at Rangpur prevents me from responding to your kind invitation. I however wish it every success and hope that the Conference will take up Winterton's challenge[1] and strain every nerve to complete boycott of foreign cloth during the year. Complete success in that one single item will give us a consciousness of our strength which I am sure nothing else can.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. NALINI MOHAN RAYCHOWDHURY
CHAIRMAN
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE
RANGPUR (BENGAL)

From a photostat: S.N. 13371

121. *LETTER TO MRS. R. SARDARKHAN*

AS AT THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You command sympathy as only recently I lost a grandson[2] of mine who was also a pet of the family. But the lesson I learnt from his death was to practise resignation to the will of God. After all death and birth are not death and birth, but it is the face of the same coin. If it is so, why grieve?

Yours sincerely,

MRS. R. SARDARKHAN
E.C.H.S.
LUDHIANA

From a microfilm: S.N. 13374

[1] *Vide* pp. 165-7.
[2] Rasik Gandhi; *vide* pp. 13-4.

122. *SPEECH AT GUJARATIS' MEETING, MOULMEIN*

March 12, 1929

You are busy, but I am busier still; so you should understand how every minute of mine is precious. I was shocked to hear that you had collected only Rs. 5,000. Do you know why I roam about so much? I feel much exhausted and during this year the exhaustion has reached the limit. I wish to take some rest, but how can I do so when I don't allow others to take any? And how can I allow any rest to people? When our house is on fire, how can we afford to be lying in bed? If there is a fire, even a sick person lying in bed would get up and try to extinguish it. Today the whole country is on fire and the soul of India is being destroyed. But those who are asleep are not even aware of the fire. Once a cousin of mine was sleeping in a house which caught fire. He was not aware of it and took to his heels only when he was awakened. If we remain asleep, the fire will consume us too. I have come here to awaken those who are asleep. To the Burmese I may give something, if I can. But from you I have come to take. You will be unhappy, and you ought to be, to know that most of the khadi work today is in the hands of Marwaris. I want the Gujaratis to take up that burden. We in Gujarat have a unique Vidyapith. I am not exaggerating if I say that it is a centre of Gujarat's public life and social work. Have you heard of Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta who has donated Rs. 10,000 for the school here? It was his ambition at one time to devote one half of his time in Gujarat and the other half in Burma. After making money in Burma, he wanted to set up a Bank in Gujarat from which I could keep on drawing as much money as I needed for national work. In short, we had arrived at an agreement that he should make money to his heart's content and I should take money to my heart's content and work away to my heart's content. Once Gokhaleji had also given me a similar assurance. But he is now no more, and Dr. Pranjivandas Mehta has become an invalid. So who is going to support me? I want the Gujaratis to bear that burden. I do not ask for crores from you. I have never asked for more than what I need. I cabled Gokhale from South Africa: "Do not send me more money." But he went on sending it. The result was that I saved and brought back Rs. 2½ lakhs and donated it to the Imperial Citizenship Association, and the amount is now being

spent for Indians living in foreign Colonies. But my method of work is different. I do not carry on my work with interest on capital, but with the courage of the people. I place my budget before the people every year and tell them that, if they like my work, they should find the money for it. How much money could my firm of *Daridranarayana* need? If you can find out how slowly a fire is extinguished, you could know how much money will satisfy my hunger. In spite of all this, I tell you that, if someone gives me sixty crore rupees, I would be unable to utilize that sum because I do not have so many workers. God has created a protective fence by having man's power circumscribed. I therefore ask for only as much today as I can handle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-3-1929

123. SPEECH AT MOULMEIN[1]

March 12, 1929

Those who believe in the teaching of the Buddha as you do cannot afford to pass a single moment in idleness. The great Nature has intended us to earn our bread in the sweat of our brow. Everyone therefore who idles away a single minute becomes to that extent a burden upon his neighbours, and to do so is to commit a breach of the very first lesson of ahimsa. Ahimsa is nothing if not a well-balanced exquisite consideration for one's neighbour, and an idle man is wanting in that elementary consideration. . . . The remedy that I can commend to you for the deplorable state of things is the same as I have recommended to my countrymen in India. You have got enough weavers in this beautiful land. But they instead of working for the good of the nation are slaving away for a foreign capitalist because it is to foreign yarn that they are applying their skill and workmanship. If therefore you will avoid helplessness, if you will become self-contained and happy and not become semi-starved as we in India are, you will take my word and revert to the spinning-wheel while there is still time.

Young India, 11-4-1929

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma

124. LETTER TO D.[1]

MOULMEIN,
March 13, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You are unnecessarily nervous. I spoke to Sjt. Birla when on my way to Calcutta I passed through Delhi on the 2nd instant. It was lapse of memory on his part to tell you that I had suggested Rs. 120-150. I had given him the very figure that you had mentioned to me, i.e., Rs. 175. But now you say you require Rs. 200. Whether Rs. 200 is the minimum or not, you would require Rs. 175 at least. I would ask you to be patient and hopeful. Sjt. Birla is anxious to accommodate you.

You have specialized in theoretical philosophy, you must specialize now in applied philosophy. Philosophy to be worth anything has got to be applied in one's own life. A philosopher must be brave and absolutely to the point, whereas your letters are unusually long. Do not shower compliments on me or Sjt. Birla. If he accommodates you or if I do anything for you, it is from a sense of duty. And duty carries no merit with it. I want you to feel certain that work will be found for you giving you not less than Rs. 175 and not more than Rs. 200. If there is a hitch, you will please write to me.

I leave here on the 21st instant and reach Calcutta on the 26th and Delhi in the afternoon of the 27th instant.

I hope you will not mind this letter. Good as you are, I want you to be better and I want you to be also a practiser of the philosophy you teach.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D.
CAWNPORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15379

[1] A draft of this letter dated March 12 is also available (S.N. 13378). It appears the letter was finalized and sent the following day with certain verbal variations.

125. *LETTER TO SIR CHARLES TEGART*

MOULMEIN,
March 13, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope to attend Court on the appointed date. But I think it is due to you to tell you that I have a long-standing appointment for 30th March in Kathiawar. A Conference there depends on my presence. If therefore I am allowed to be free I shall have to leave Calcutta on the 26th instant by the Delhi Express. I hope therefore that you would please see to the case being finished before the time of departure from Howrah.

Yours sincerely,

SIR CHARLES TEGART
COMMISSIONER OF POLICE
CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 13381

126. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

MOULMEIN,
March 13, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Today also the mail is about to leave, and so I write only this.

Everything is going on all right. I think of all of you. Everyone must have recovered. It would be good if all of you sat in the sun every morning with your bodies exposed. If anyone falls ill, he should immediately stop eating, take only water and have motions with the help of an enema. There seems to be no need for any other treatment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5393

127. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MOULMEIN

March 13, 1929

After expressing pleasure in having Burmese majority among the audience, Mahatma Gandhi spoke about the drinking habit.

I was intensely pained to learn yesterday that the drink evil was on the increase and I was intensely pained to learn that the drink revenue amounted to one-third of the land revenue. It is a terrific thing to contemplate for any country in the world, but it is nothing less than suicidal in a country like Burma where climatic conditions are totally opposed to the drink habit. I know what the habit is doing in India. A serious responsibility rests on the shoulders of people living in towns. I would like the leaders of public opinion in Burma to consider this thing seriously and make every endeavour to root this thing out. Whatever may be true of countries with cold climates I am sure that in a climate like ours there is no need for drink whatsoever. Nothing but ruin stares a nation in the face that is a prey to the drink habit. History records that empires have been destroyed through the habit. We have it in India that the great community to which Shri Krishna belonged was ruined by that habit. This monstrous evil was undoubtedly one of the contributory factors in the fall of Rome. If therefore you will live decently you will shun this evil whilst there is yet time.[1]

Addressing the Burmese ladies, Mahatma Gandhi drew their attention to two things: their taste in foreign fineries and smoking habit. He fell in love with the men and women of Burma soon after his arrival and his love would have been heightened, if ladies had not gone so much for foreign silk. He hoped that Burmese ladies would take a lead in the matter.

You are enjoying a freedom which no other women on earth are enjoying at the present moment. You are noted for your industry and your skill. You have great organizing capacity and if you will but revise your taste for foreign fineries and take to heart the message of simplicity that I have given you, you will revolutionize your life. . . .[2]

[1] This paragraph is extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

[2] This and the following paragraph are from *Young India*.

I have really less courage to speak about the terrible curse of smoking. But I understand that throughout Burma I shall not find a single man or woman free from this habit. We who come from India are painfully surprised to see the beautiful Burmese women disfigure their mouths by cheroots and cigars. But I know that it is a most difficult thing to speak about an evil which is enveloping the whole world. If you have heard the name of Tolstoy I quote his authority to show that Tolstoy being an inveterate smoker himself was speaking from experience when he said that tobacco dulled the intellect of man, let alone other senses. Indeed he cites examples to show that most deliberate crimes have been committed under the influence of smoke, and in one of his beautiful stories he pictures the villain of the piece as committing murder not after drink but after having had a smoke. Although it is perfectly true that the smoke habit is on the increase and it has amongst its supporters many of the brilliant men of the world, there is a spirit of resistance against it and the opponents are some of the best men in the West and great moralists.

Gandhiji advised Indians to lead such life as people would think well of them. He added that he came to collect money for khaddar and appealed to help him with money and take to khaddar. Mahatma Gandhi told the Burmese audience that he came with a selfish mercenary motive having no right to ask them or expect anything from them.

The Hindustan Times, 16-3-1929, and *Young India*, 11-4-1929

128. BE TRUE

I promised to give a free rendering of a remarkable address in Sindhi presented to me by the students of Hyderabad.[1] Much other work crowded it out. I now give it below:

> We welcome you heartily on behalf of the Hyderabad students. We are aware that we are not entitled to have you in our midst as we have not carried out your precepts; but we hope that our hearts would respond after having heard your spoken word. We will not deceive you. We therefore propose to open out our hearts to you.
>
> Our town is a centre of education. Compared with the other towns, we have a larger proportion of those who have passed the Indian Civil Service examination. We have one

[1] *Vide* p. 8.

college here, three high schools for boys, two for girls and numerous other English and Sindhi schools. In the English schools alone there are 4,000 students. But out of these, unfortunately there are not more than 22 or 25 students wearing pure khadi and there cannot be more than 3 or 4 per cent wearing indigenous mill-cloth. The others wear indifferently swadeshi and *videshi*. The vast majority only wear *videshi*. You know well enough that our living is extravagant. We incline towards the English language and Western civilization rather than towards our mother tongue and our own culture. We cannot show much of service or simplicity, aware as we are of the poverty of our country. We know that it is good for the country that we should use khadi and swadeshi articles; but we regret that we were unmoved even when the heart-rending cry of the flood-stricken fell on our ears. And this indifference is the cause of the absence of our response to the general distress surrounding us. Our association has been doing some work during the last four years. But there is not much in it of which we can make any boast.

We are ashamed to have to refer to the evil custom of *deti-leti*. In spite of having received higher education we do not hesitate to squeeze thousands of rupees from the wife's relations. Some of us regard it as our birthright to obtain money through our wives. Many have no sense of self-respect. In spite of the higher education amongst girls, hardly half-a-dozen have been courageous enough to resent it as insult to have to buy their husbands. Recently there has been a boycott resolution against those who countenance *deti-leti*. But people have not yet freed themselves from the evil.

But we do not want to give you only the dark side of the picture. There is a bright side also. You may feel sure that our capacity for good is limitless. We can become torchbearers throughout Sind; for we are the inheritors of traditions left in this very town by Sadhu Hiranand, Diwan Navalrai, Bhai Balachandra, Diwan Dayaram and other such heroes. Even at the present moment we have in our town men who are noted for their organizing capacity and discipline. We have in our midst men who have shown capacity for leadership in the political, the social, the educational and the literary field. They have taken a leading part in all patriotic endeavours. Merchants of Hyderabad are to be found carrying on their enterprise in all parts of the globe.

> We wish to make no parade of these things, but we want to show that we are not devoid of capacity for work or service. If our energies can be once organized, it is possible to show good progress. We want to feel that we have not forfeited the right to your affection because we have not acted up to your precepts, because we know that it would be only through your affection that our hearts will expand.

I have given a free rendering of this address first because I want to keep the students to their promise and secondly because it may serve as an example to other students. Let me remind the students of Hyderabad that although they did not know the contents of the address before it was read to me, in answer to the question deliberately put by me, they with one voice endorsed the sentiments expressed in the address and promised that they would make every endeavour to make up for past indifference and neglect. I therefore expect them to boycott completely foreign cloth and take to khadi. I expect them to boycott *deti-leti* once for all.

For the other students let this address be a model. Addresses containing mere praise of leaders are really useless. Those who need such praise should not have any address presented to them. If addresses are presented to those whom students really love and honour they should contain references that might be of some service to them. I do not wish to suggest that every address should be like this one. But I do suggest that every address should have a local touch, a local significance and should refer to some matter of importance. Real affection is not shown through praise but through service. Self-purification is a preliminary process, an indispensable condition of real service. I have therefore welcomed this address as a token of sincere desire on the part of the students of Hyderabad to go through this preliminary process of self-purification, a consummation much to be desired during this year of grace and preparation.

Young India, 14-3-1929

129. NOTES

The Old Enemy

A friend from Akola sends the two following apparently dissimilar questions:

1. How can a man overcome his passion?
2. If A is in the habit of wearing khadi and he requests B to do the same and B regrets his inability to comply with A's wishes, what is to be done in that case? How can a husband induce his wife, if she refuses, to wear khadi?

As to the first, a man has first to give up everything that tends to excite or stimulate his passion and then to wait upon God for help.

As to the second, it is clear that there should be no compulsion about others adopting one's views or habits. My own experience is that example in such matters is an unfailing preceptor and whether for the khadi or for any other reform, we have to wait patiently for our neighbours to adopt it and remain staunch in our own adherence. What I have said about A and B applies equally to the case of husband and wife.

Poor Boys' Fund

The head master of the New English School, Achra, writes as follows:[1]

I am sorry that owing to my travels at the time the letter was received, it remained buried amongst my papers for nearly two months. The amount has been already acknowledged but the letter has a value of its own apart from the collection. For the teachers and the boys have responded not only to the letter of the appeal but also to its spirit in that they have determined to give up foreign goods and even tea. I suggest to the teachers that the vow to give up foreign goods will not be kept up either by the teachers or by the boys. It is too sweeping to be fulfilled. For instance, neither the teachers nor the boys will give up foreign books, nor foreign pins, nor foreign watches, nor foreign needles. I suggest to them a revision of their vows. It will be better if they will name the foreign articles which they will refrain from using.

[1] The letter is not reproduced here. The students and teachers had sent a collection of Rs. 101 for Lajpat Rai Memorial Fund. The head master had requested Gandhiji to reduce the price of khadi, for poor students at any rate.

As to khadi, I have pointed out often enough that it is cheap at any price, so long as it is sold at the cost price plus a small addition for the upkeep of the stock where it is sold. Let it be borne in mind that during the seven years of its career khadi has cheapened itself by 50 per cent. If there was more patronage it would be cheaper still. And why will not poor boys be taught to help themselves rather than that they should be taught to expect khadi at cheaper than cost price and thus to expect people poorer than themselves to give a gratuity? Boys and girls should be taught to spin their own yarn during their idle hours. I have suggested at least half an hour per day. They can then even weave that yarn, or if that becomes difficult as it may well become so, send the yarn to an agent of the All-India Spinners' Association and get khadi of the same weight and containing yarn of the same count merely for the cost of weaving.

In Its Grip

An Agra friend asks:

> Have you insured your life? Is there anything objectionable in this Western institution? Some insurance companies invest the whole or major portion of their receipts in Government securities. Do not these companies help, with the public money, a Government which you brand as Satanic? Do they not make our lives dependent upon it and so create a tendency in us to foster its permanence to some extent? If so, should patriotic persons be the agents of such companies or insure their life with them?

If this friend is a regular reader of *Young India* he should know that I did insure my life in 1901 and a short time after I gave up the policy because I felt that I was distrusting God and making my relatives in whose behalf the policy was taken dependent upon me or the money I might leave them rather than upon God and themselves.[1] The opinion arrived at when I gave up the policy has been confirmed by subsequent experience. The correspondent's fear about the Government's hold is more than justified. Every penny we invest in Government securities undoubtedly adds to its strength. The Government gets our money at the cheapest rate of interest and holds it undoubtedly and manifestly to use it against us whenever its own existence is threatened by us. No Government can or will do otherwise. When we have our own national Government, it will follow the same method; only, then we would expect and wish it to do so. In the case of

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, *An Autobiography*, Pt. IV, Ch. IV.

the existing Government, we run helplessly into its arms. We do not know how dependent we become on it. We have become dependent for light, water, food and air itself so far as big cities are concerned. It was not without thinking of every one of these things that non-co-operation was conceived. If Government feels itself safe that is because it knows that when the national struggle is on, it will have on its side all the monied and otherwise vested interests. We are co-operating in a thousand ways with the Government. Of this a few important items of co-operation were singled out for non-co-operation and I know that if we are to win our freedom through non-violent means, we shall have to revert without much variation to those items.

Function of Khadi

The same friend asks:

> Do you want to perpetuate the use of khadi or do you recommend it only for temporary use for acquiring political freedom? In the former case, does not khadi offend against aesthetics and do you expect common people to stifle the natural grievance of the sense?

I do indeed seek to perpetuate khadi because it is the only means of saving the peasantry from extinction. I claim for it the ability to gain political freedom because it has the ability to give the peasantry its economic freedom, what is more, to enable the peasantry to keep the wolf from the door. The correspondent is obviously ignorant of the past history of his own country and the present evolution of khadi. When the other parts of the globe did not know the use of cotton, India set the aesthetic standard and supplied the rich nations of the West with the finest fabrics in a variety of colours. And the present evolution of khadi shows that slowly but surely it is day by day reaching the aesthetically inclined people. After all, true art can only be expressed not through inanimate power-driven machinery designed for mass production but only through the delicate living touch of the hands of men and women. I commend the correspondent to Acharya Kripalani's pupils and associates who are making extensive experiments in beautifying khadi.

This correspondent has also raised the question of the so-called dearness of khadi. I have not dealt with it because it has already been dealt with elsewhere in this issue of *Young India*.

Young India, 14-3-1929

130. SPEECH AT RAMAKRISHNA MISSION, RANGOON[1]

March 14, 1929

MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I thank the Ramakrishna Mission for the address they have so kindly presented to me. I am confident you are very pleased to see Maulana Mahomed Ali with me here. People ask me often: "Where are your Ali Brothers?" Then I reply to them according to what I feel. Today as the Maulana Saheb is near me, I am saved from a similar enquiry. I want to tell you the will of Khuda (God) will prevail and I will get him always with me. I do not want to tell you more.

Now I want to tell you something about Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and his mission. He has left for us a great work. I have faith in his mission and I would ask you to follow him. Wherever I go the followers of Ramakrishna invite me and I know their blessings are on my work. Ramakrishna Sevashrams (people's service centres) and Hospitals are spread throughout India. There is no such place where their work is not being carried on a small or large scale. Hospitals are opened and the poor are given medicine and treatment.

I do not like to say much because I have hardly any time at my disposal. When I remember Ramakrishna's name I cannot forget Vivekananda. Sevashrams have been largely spread by Vivekananda's activity and it was he who made his Master known throughout the world.

I pray to God to increase such Sevashrams. I hope such people will join them who are pure and who have love for India. Let them do the work inspired with the love of India.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 18-4-1929

[1] The function was organized as part of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa birthday celebrations.

131. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, RANGOON[1]

March 14, 1929

MADAM AND FRIENDS,

I feel not a little embarrassed in having to address this meeting especially as I do not possess any knowledge about your activities nor was I prepared to face this audience. I thought that I would have to meet all sorts of people who would come, some out of curiosity and others in order to know my views about temperance. But I see that I am in front of an audience, if I may so name it, of specialists. For I hope that you are all specialists in this work. You, madam, have suggested that if an educative campaign is carried on amongst the people, and as a consequence of that propaganda people who are in the habit of drinking cease to visit liquor shops, there would be no liquor shops in existence. I want to put before you my own experience without combating the view that has been suggested from the chair.

My work in connection with temperance began as early as 1893 when I went to South Africa. When I saw my own people, my own countrymen drinking and even women drinking who would never think of drinking in India and as a result leading a life of the gutter, I saw that the task was an uphill one. These men and women were not prepared to listen to any lectures on temperance, much less to any personal advice. I saw too that some of them were perfectly helpless or they thought that they were helpless. I adopted many measures, all such measures as were within the competence of a man who is without any authority. But I cannot claim any degree of visible success for those efforts. There was a kind of a "Liquor Commission" appointed by the Union Government after South Africa became a Union. I gave evidence or rather wrote a note for that Commission, but I am again sorry to have to inform you that nothing came out of it. The position in South Africa was and still remains somewhat curious and anomalous. There are three different degrees of restriction on the possession and drinking of liquor. The Bantus and the Zulus are prohibited from carrying bottles with them or from being served in canteens, and yet they do drink. Indians may

[1] The meeting was held under the auspices of the Burma Women's Christian Temperance Union.

not possess bottles, but they may drink as much as they like in the canteens, with the result especially to the women that I have described to you. The white man is of course free. There is no legislation in connection with him, but you may guess what I would like to say. It is that the source of all this evil comes from this freedom of the white men in South Africa. Some of them have amassed a fortune by exploiting the drink habit of the Bantus and the Indians.

Then I came to India, and I found the position very different from the position in South Africa in one respect, but the problem essentially the same. There was as you are aware a hurricane temperance campaign in 1920-21. And you will not mind my saying to you that if we had then received whole-hearted support from all the temperance organizations throughout the length and breadth of India, we would have achieved complete success. If you are careful students of the temperance movement in India you would gain the knowledge from the Government reports that we were within an ace of complete success, at least in some provinces. Many of the liquor dens were practically closed. Hundreds of opium dens in Assam were deserted. And then followed the tragedy. It consisted in Government repression. It was a shameful and sorry affair. I admit that the movement had a political colour. It was bound to have that political colour. But the political motive should not have deterred temperance organizations from helping a movement that was essentially moral. You will pardon me for taking you through this history which, if it is tragic, is also deeply interesting. The repression came about in this fashion. The Government revenue dwindled down at once in Bihar, in Assam, in the Central Provinces. There was an onrush of feeling, a desire, a yearning for self-purification. That yearning came, I do not know how — we do not always know the mysterious ways in which God works. But there is the fact that the political movement became also a movement of self-purification, and in that onrush thousands of workers became volunteers to picket liquor shops and opium dens and the people also began to believe that it was their duty to desert the drinking-booths. The Government started repression and thousands of volunteers were thrown into jail for the offence of picketing drink and drug shops with the result that today all those canteens that were deserted and opium dens that were almost closed are, I am afraid, doing probably the same volume of business as they were doing prior to 1920-21.

The moral that I would like to draw from this story is that in this connection in India and Burma—treating Burma as a

separate entity for our argument — legislation has really to go hand in hand with educative propaganda if not to precede it. I have not been able to study as carefully as I would like to have done the drink habit of the Burman. I assure you that ever since I have come into touch with Burmese opinion I am trying to learn from Burmese friends about this drink habit of the Burman, but I can speak about it only from second-hand evidence as against India about which I can speak from first-hand knowledge. And I am here before you to give my own evidence that drinking is not a habit with the aristocracy, certainly not with the middle-class man; it is a habit confined to the labourers and especially to the factory hands. And this is an interesting piece of evidence that I am placing before you. Why do factory hands drink when they did not drink before they came to work in the factories, even as those men and women who went to work in South Africa were not drinking before they migrated there? The answer is that the conditions there are such and the temptations that are placed in their way are such that they become addicted to the habit of drink. But even these men who have become addicted to the habit of drink do not justify it. They have a sense of shame about it. If you speak to them about it, they will tell you they are helpless, they are labourers; they will tell you all sorts of falsehoods and try to deceive you, but they are ashamed of this habit. In Europe it will be ungentlemanly on my part if I do not stand a drink when you come to see me. When I was a student in England, I found myself in a most embarrassing position because I would not stand a drink to friends. But that is not the case in India, and therefore I suggest that it would be a wrong thing for you to say that education has to precede legislation. Education will never be able to cope with the evil. There is no prohibition because drink brings a large revenue. Even Indian ministers say, 'We cannot forgo this revenue, but you must go on educating.'

About this revenue also there is a tragedy. The ministers—it applies to Burma equally with India—should never have been placed in that embarrassing position. Excise as you know is a transferred subject. It should never have been so made. Excise revenue should have remained as part of the central revenue, so that it should be open to the Government at any moment to forgo this revenue and declare complete prohibition. In a mighty country like America where drink was so common they have been able to declare prohibition; how much more easy should it be in India or Burma where liquor is not the fashion, where the

vast majority of the people do not want liquor, where if you take a referendum you will get millions of signatures in favour of any representation for the introduction of prohibition legislation? The excise revenue is 25 crores. It is not a revenue on which any government should take pride in conducting its administration. It is a revenue which must be sacrificed and whilst it lasts, it should be held as sacrosanct and be wholly dedicated to the purpose of eradicating the drink evil. But today it is being utilized for educating our children with the result that a tremendous barrier has been put against this necessary temperance legislation. People are made to think that they will not be able to educate their children if this revenue stops. If things go on unchecked like this a whole nation might have to perish. If the evil spreads, it may be too late to undertake legislation. In America it has been possible to educate public opinion in favour of prohibition because there is universal education there, but it may not be possible to mobilize public opinion like that in a country like India where there is illiteracy on such a vast scale and its handmaid superstition. I would therefore appeal to you, especially the women, who are concerned with temperance work to take courage in both your hands. I do not ask you to take as gospel truth what I have told you. Test the truth for yourselves and if you find that what I have told you is more than confirmed by your investigations, then I suggest that you will make it your sacred duty to carry on a whirlwind campaign for total prohibition. The task is difficult only because the rights that have been created through the drink evil belong to the ruling race.

If you discuss this problem with the administrators, they will tell you all sorts of stories and put all manner of difficulties in the way of carrying this legislation through. Do not believe these difficulties at all. There is no difficulty at all beyond the difficulty of making up the deficit of revenue. If you and I have made up our minds that this evil has got to be eradicated and if it can be eradicated only by prohibition legislation, then it is for the Government to find a way out of the deficit difficulty. It is not open to it to ask you to suggest ways and means for making up that deficit. That would be like the conduct of the man who comes to you with unclean hands and asks you to help him to clean them. However there is the question of picketing. When the psychological moment comes—and I am praying for that moment —when every liquor shop and opium den is picketed I will expect you to lend a helping hand and not to say, 'How can we help him? He is an agitator.' Even now an intensive agitation for

temperance is being carried on in the Surat district, and that has been possible because there is a band of workers including women belonging to cultured families, self-sacrificing and brave. When we have got a compact body of reliable and unimpeachable workers we shall carry on this campaign over the whole country. And when that time comes you will find the whole of India dotted with pickets and I hope that that influence will percolate through the Bay of Bengal to Burma. Burmese ladies and gentlemen too may then, if they so choose, carry on picketing and thus save a noble race from extinction which so far as I can see stares them in the face — as much as it does India — if they are not weaned from this curse in time.

Young India, 18-4-1929

132. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

March 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We arrived in Rangoon from Moulmein this morning. I got the letters posted by you. It is surprising that you had not got till Thursday the letters posted at Calcutta on the silence day. Subbiah is very careful in this matter.

Yesterday I had time to write only a postcard to you. The post will leave on Saturday. It is Thursday today.

I had to stop with the last sentence. I am now writing this on Friday morning in Paungde. I experience no difficulty, and those who accompany me also find the journey quite comfortable.

I have sent a wire to you about Chalala. Both of us[1] believe that there is no harm in buying that land so long as we can sell it whenever we wish to. But only you can judge there what is best.

I shall look into the balance-sheet. It is not likely, however, that either of us will be able to examine it in detail. I do hope to return there on the 29th.

It is advisable that you should produce khadi in Bahial and wherever else you can. Mahavirprasad has told me that they will buy all the khadi which we can send to Calcutta. There will be, therefore, no problem of exporting it. Give as much help from the Ashram as you can.

[1] Gandhiji and Jamnalal Bajaj

I have accepted the offer of a donation of Rs. 10,000 as help in manufacturing khadi in the area around Kathar. More about this when we meet.

Your decision to spin for four hours on every Friday is a good one. I am very happy that you intend to learn carding.

I like the suggestion of doing away with the distinction between six and seven. It is desirable that, in managing our affairs, our methods should, as far as possible, be smooth and uniform. I like the resolution about supplying milk to the Vidyapith. Our aim now should be to see that it gets the milk every day in time.

Radha-Rukhi must have recovered now. You did not write and tell me what arrangement you made about the Bal Mandir during Radha's illness. There should be provision for an alternative arrangement whenever someone falls ill.

After this, there will be only one more post from Burma — that is, on Tuesday. On Thursday, we start from here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5393

133. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

March 15, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

You must have recovered by now. This year, I hope to exact much work from you and from others who volunteer. I think it very necessary that the Ashram should be free from all worries and that I, too, should be free from anxiety about the Ashram. Never give up your rest hours during the day. Bear with all criticism. Attend the prayer-meetings regularly. Save time for spinning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 23

134. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

March 15, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I would like to stay with you. But you are only a guest in the house. It is not right for me to put up at a place where the elders have no faith in my work and ideals. It is also not right for you to urge me. Consideration of the financial state of your family further deters me from staying with you. I have, as a matter of fact, taken enough service from you, and used your money too. You must resist the temptation to give more.

I hope you are keeping well.

Having said all this I shall do as you wish. Consult Devdas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2362

135. SPEECH AT PAUNGDE

March 15, 1929

Mr. Gandhi replying jointly thanked for the addresses especially the women's address and he was particularly happy that the lady who read the address had been jailed in a national cause. He greatly regretted that none amongst Indians had mastered the Burmese language.

I hope Indians will take the hint from this occasion and learn Burmese as a second language. The least that the Indians owe to the Burmese is that they should try to come close to them by learning their language and I would suggest to the Indians to teach their children Burmese, even if they find it too late for themselves now to do so.[1]

Addressing Burmese men and women, Mr. Gandhi said the more he saw them, the more he felt attracted to them. He exhorted them to discard all foreign fineries, and remarked what contrast foreign umbrellas presented against the picturesque Burmese umbrellas. Foreign silks took away both their

[1] This paragraph is taken from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma published in *Young India*, 11-4-1929.

money and art. He then asked them to avoid drink and cigars of which drink was far more serious evil, and asked them to shun it as poisonous snakes.

He added the duty of Indians here was to interest themselves in the Burmese welfare, and associate with them in all the beneficial activities.

Speaking in Hindi, Mr. Gandhi urged the Indians to be friends of the Burmese and lead life so that Burmese may think well of them and appealed for further money for his khadi work.

The Hindustan Times, 18-3-1929

136. SPEECH AT PROME

March 15, 1929

Mr. Gandhi replying jointly to all the three addresses expressed great joy that he was able to see during his visit to the interior of Burma so many Burmese friends, both men and women. He said the object of his visit was a mercenary and selfish one which was to collect money. As for their request to advise them for their guidance in the struggle for emancipation, Mr. Gandhi considered himself unfit for the task but, as a general rule which could be universally applicable which he had learnt from his forty years of personal political life, he could say that such emancipation needed first self-purification.[1]

I have no other and no better guidance to offer you than to commend to your attention the general principle of non-violence, in other words self-purification. How and in what manner it can be applied will naturally depend upon evils that exist in your midst. But let me single out at least one thing. It seems to me that the conditions of your agriculture are almost the same as those in India. As I was driving to Prome, I passed through a village which was predominantly a weavers' village. But all the looms there are working with foreign yarn and therefore have no living contact whatsoever with the peasantry. Weavers weave not with any instinct of patriotism but because it brings them as. 8 to Re. 1 per day as the case may be. I have become aware that there was a time when all these beautiful *loongis* were made out of hand-spun yarn. The spinning-wheel which you manufacture in the place is, from an artistic standpoint, superior to any Indian spinning-wheel. On the whole it is cheaper than Indian wheels and probably lighter to work with. God has blessed this land with an abundance of bamboo, and all you have to do is to carry the

[1] The paragraph which follows is taken from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma.

message of the wheel to the peasantry and revive this beautiful art of hand-spinning and I would ask the municipalities of Burma to make a commencement in municipal schools and carry the message through them to the villagers. Weavers will then be working on behalf of the poor villagers. Whereas if the weavers remain dependent on foreign yarn not only will they remain isolated from village life, but it will be a question of time when they will be extinct as weavers. For it is the tendency of the weaving mills to consume all the yarn that the spinning mills produce. If therefore you will establish a living connection with the villages—of weavers with villagers and of townspeople with villagers—you can do so only through the spinning-wheel.

He hoped that if at any time self-purification movement was started in Burma, Phoongys will take the lead. Phoongys were and should be the repository of Burmese culture and trustees of the normal welfare of the people. Their responsibility, he said, therefore, was very great.

Referring to the drink evil, Mahatma Gandhi said that without non-co-operation, the evil could never be got rid of. He suggested non-violent non-co-operation with liquor-sellers and producers of drink. But he warned his audience that emancipation wrought with violence meant the transfer of power from one to another. Non-violent non-co-operation was the only advice he could give.

Speaking to the Hindus, Mr. Gandhi complimented them for the remarks they had made in their address that in Prome existed a great friendship among all classes and communities. He exhorted Indians to wear khadi. He said he was told that only five thousand rupees were collected. They should collect more for which he made an earnest appeal.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 18-3-1929, and *Young India*, 11-4-1929

[1] Immediately after the speech Gandhiji addressed a women's meeting.

137. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[*March 16, 1929*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

After this there is only one more mail to send you from Burma. The mail after takes me back to Calcutta. You are doing well in taking a little quinine daily. Use yourself to an occasional fast or semi-fast even when you are feeling well. Omit ghee at times, milk other times. Sometimes take only juicy fruits. Thus you are likely to avoid fevers.

I hope to collect here about one lac of rupees. It won't be a bad sum for Burma to pay during these times of trade depression.

I have often wished you were present during such tours as this. But I know also that what you are doing is far more important. If God grants you health you will travel to these places yourself and you will then do it after better equipment. The training and the experience you are gaining will prove invaluable when I am gone.

I have passed on your remarks about soft spindles to Lakshmidas. Your argument does appeal to me. But I constantly ask myself, why then did Maganlal who had started with soft spindles resort to the hard ones? Why has not Lakshmidas noted what you have? But, of course, these are no reasons for discounting your discovery. They are reasons for the necessity of utmost caution.

I note too your remarks about keeping women in the Ashram. You will in all these matters go as slowly as you like and never attempt anything about which you have yourself no confidence or have even a doubt. 'Slow but sure wins the race.'

Andrews is still in America. Gregg tells me he is doing well. You will see a paragraph in *Y. I.* from Zimand's letter.[2] A.[3] is to abbreviate the *Autobiography* for the Macmillan Company.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5351. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9407

[1] In his letter to the addressee of March 18, 1929, Gandhiji mentions having sent a letter on Saturday. Presumably this is that letter.

[2] *Vide* pp. 168-9.

[3] C. F. Andrews

138. FAREWELL MESSAGE, MARTABAN[1]

[On or before *March 17, 1929*][2]

Money gifts are hardly ever a sure indication of love. In fact in our epics we have the story often told of God refusing the richest presents from those having great possessions, and preferring to eat the coarse morsel lovingly given by a devotee. But it is my great misfortune that I have to measure your love by the money gifts you give for *Daridranarayana*. It is hardly fair to you, I know, but no matter in whatever balance you were weighed, you have simply refused to be found wanting. The excess of your love can only teach me to be more humble and more worthy of it.

Young India, 18-4-1929

139. "STOMACH MAKES US SLAVES"

A Patidar writes:[3]

The object of writing this letter is to create in the reader compassion for cows, buffaloes, etc. It is a noble objective. But the letter has had quite a different effect on me. Such cruel slaughter of cows and buffaloes has now been going on for a long time. The Hindus and Muslims of Bombay are a witness to it. Not only that, they have been participants in this great violence. Here it is not a question of religion in a narrow sense; there is here decline of dharma in a wider sense. History provides many examples of even meat-eaters showing compassion. But meat-eaters should show, towards the animals whose meat they eat, such compassion as they can. Slaughter-houses in the West are exemplary from this point of view. There new ways are constantly devised and adopted so that cattle are killed instantaneously and suffer the minimum pain. Total abstention from meat is of course the best compassion, but

[1] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma

[2] Gandhiji gave the message while setting out for Mandalay by train. He was in Mandalay on March 18, which was a Silence Day.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said he was getting training under the Bombay Municipality as a Sanitary Inspector and was shocked to find that large numbers of cows, oxen, pigs, goats and sheep were killed in the various slaughter-houses of the town.

those who cannot practise it should at least lessen the pain inflicted on animals. This we do not see in the slaughter-houses in India.

But it is the students of whom the above letter makes me think. They pay the heavy fee of Rs. 200 for six months, not so that they may serve but with an economic end in view: that they may secure good jobs. Can one not make a living without practising such occupations? So long as educated people seek to earn their living through such occupations the slaughter-houses can neither be improved nor closed down. A man should decide even the question of the means of earning his livelihood from the moral point of view. At least educated people like the writer of this letter should stay away from the immoral temptation of making money by hook or by crook. The writer in question is well educated and cultured and has intelligence enough to choose his profession with due regard to ethical considerations. It is to be hoped that he and other young men like him will use their intelligence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-3-1929

140. A CARDER'S EXPERIENCE

An experienced carder writes:[1]

Everyone who carries out experiments, spins well and also minimizes wastage, will have added that much to yarn production in India.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-3-1929

141. "MY HEART ACHES"[2]

One can say now that Gujarat has become familiar with the name of the Tamil poet, Bharati. English translations of a number of his poems by Shri Chakravarti Rajagopalachari have already appeared in *Young India*. Shri Jugatram Dave has translated one of them for *Madhapudo*, the organ of the children of the

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the article "Good Çarding", in *Navajivan*, 9-12-1928 (*vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 186-7.), and described his own experience in spinning with cotton which had not been dried.

[2] The title is from the Gujarati version of a poem by Bharati.

Udyoga Mandir. I give it[1] below as it is interesting and instructive. Shri Jugatram Dave has become the poet and servant of villagers. He has dedicated himself to the Raniparaj community. I believe we can learn a lot from his songs. Then who bothers to find out if they contain poetry or not? Or why should we not call that writing poetry which has power to take the people forward? How can that be poetry which lacks the power to kindle life?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 17-3-1929

142. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

MANDALAY,
Silence Day, March 18, 1929

SISTERS,

Mandalay is the town where the Lokamanya wrote his commentary on the *Gita* and where Lalaji and Subhas Bose were kept prisoners. We are in that town today. I have not been able to go out to see these places, but I have sent the others. The lady of the house in which we are staying is a saintly person. She has immense wealth and her husband and children are alive, but she does not wear the smallest article of jewellery on her person. Neither does she encourage her daughters to wear any jewellery. She has one daughter of thirteen years of age, whom she is encouraging not to think of marriage till she is twenty. She persuaded this daughter to give away to me whatever ornaments she had with her. She observes the other rules of the Ashram too, and regularly reads *Navajivan*. And it cannot be said that she is highly educated.

All your activities must be going on very well.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–1: Ashramni Behnone, p. 59

[1] Not retranslated here

143. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MANDALAY,
Silence Day [*March 18, 1929*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your post must be lying in Rangoon today. We shall reach there on Wednesday. This letter will go by Tuesday's mail. The next ship is on Thursday, and we shall leave by that.

You will find enclosed with this a letter from Rupanarayanbabu and model sub-rules. I have read them. Write to him and tell him that at present I can think of no suggestion for their revision. Send the papers to him wherever he is.

There is nothing else to write about today.

We have been put up almost in the shadow of the jail in which the Lokamanya wrote the *Gita-Rahasya*.

I trust all are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5395

144. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised

MANDALAY,
Monday, March 18, 1929

Today is the silence day and I am writing under the shadow of the fort where one of India's greatest of sons, Tilak, was buried alive. Lalaji too was buried in the Mandalay Fort for years. Though then I am writing this on the silence day, I was unable to catch the post. I was too sleepy towards post time. But I gave you a letter[1] by the mail that left on Saturday. This letter will leave by the same mail that will take me to Calcutta.

Today is the day for receiving the Indian post in Rangoon. If there is any from you, I should get it at Rangoon on Wednesday when I reach there.

This interesting tour is drawing to a close. I shall feel the parting with Dr. Mehta. I see that I can comfort him if I am there. But this is a private privilege I may not enjoy.

[1] *Vide* p. 154.

I have kept well during the tour, though it has needed adjusting. The digestive apparatus does not respond as during bracing cold weather. The climate here is naturally damp.

You know now the rest of the programme. I shall think of sending you a wire on 26th. I shall make a desperate effort to leave by the Express which leaves Howrah at 2 p.m.

I did good carding today for the first time during the tour. I shall love to do it daily.

I wonder if you are receiving any letters from the Udyoga Mandir. You should keep yourself in touch with some men and some women.

No more now as I must be off to a meeting.

Love.

Yours,
BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5352. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9408

145. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, MANDALAY[1]

March 18, 1929

You have rightly reminded me that it was here in Mandalay that the great son of India, Lokamanya Tilak, was buried alive. It was he who gave India the *mantra* of swaraj and in burying him alive the British Government had buried India alive. The Lion of the Punjab also was similarly incarcerated here, and lest we should forget those things, Government recently buried alive Sjt. Bose and numerous other sons of Bengal. Mandalay is thus a place of pilgrimage for us Indians, and it is a remarkable coincidence that we are all sitting here today in the shadow of the walls of the fort and the prison sanctified by those sons of India. In India it is a common saying that the way to swaraj is through Mandalay and the British Government has taught you too that great lesson by incarcerating India's great sons here. The way to swaraj is the way of suffering. Indeed no country has come to its own without suffering and let Mandalay be an eternal reminder both to you and to us of that great truth.

You who do well to own the Buddha as your teacher will do well to explore the limitless possibilities of non-violence. There are things in your practice which I have not been able to re-

[1] From Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma

concile with the teachings of the Buddha but I do not propose to abuse your great hospitality by being critical at this moment.

You have, as I conceive it, one of the greatest truths that the world can ever have uttered by one of the greatest teachers of mankind, viz., ahimsa. If there had been a perfectly silent and a quiet atmosphere I would gladly have spoken to you upon that quiet doctrine. As it is I can only ask you to study the doctrine and reduce it to practice in every act of your lives. It is infinitely greater than the gems and the diamonds people prize so much. It can become, if you will make wise use of it, your own saving and the saving of mankind.

Young India, 18-4-1929

146. SPEECH TO GUJARATIS, MANDALAY

March 18, 1929

It is of course true.[1] In the path of non-violence, one person's *tapascharya* is enough since it covers all others. Not that it covers the cunning or hypocrisy of anybody, but the very atmosphere around one undergoes a transformation. My non-violence stands in the midst of the surrounding violence like a castor-oil plant in a desert country. Else why should I have to goad you? Do the women need any coaxing? Had my non-violence been complete, my mere presence here would have made ornaments drop here like dirt from the human body. When my purity has become perfect, even before I write a word it will have been acted on.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-4-1929

147. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, TOUNGOO[2]

March 19, 1929

With this meeting ends what has been to me a most interesting and instructive tour in the interior of Burma. Delightful as my experiences of the people of Burma were when my visit some

[1] A woman reader of *Navajivan* had blessed Gandhiji: "Let a single sentence of yours in *Navajivan* be sufficient to awaken the nation!"

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour in Burma

years ago was only confined to Rangoon and for a day only to Moulmein, that delight has been heightened by my experience during this tour even as far as Mandalay. It has been a great joy to me to see at all these meetings so many yellow-robed Phoongys and so many Burman sisters and brothers. As this will be for many years to come, if not for ever, my last address to an audience such as this, I propose to submit a few remarks on what is to you and me dearest to our hearts. It cannot be without purpose and meaning that all your addresses, no matter where presented, have approved of and blessed my message of non-violence and of the spinning-wheel. I would therefore say a few words to you in explanation of what I understand by the message of ahimsa. To me it is one of the most active forces in the world. It is like the sun that rises upon us unfailingly from day to day. Only if we would but understand it, it is infinitely greater than a million suns put together. It radiates life and light and peace and happiness. Why do we not see that light, that life, that peace and that happiness in a land that professes the law of ahimsa? As I said in Mandalay only yesterday, it has appeared to me that the message of the Buddha, the Enlightened One, has only touched but the surface of the heart of Burma. I would like to apply one or two tests. Now I hold that where the law of ahimsa reigns supreme, there should be no jealousy, no unworthy ambition, no crime. I read your criminal statistics and I find that you are not behindhand in the race for crime. Murder on the slightest pretext seems to me to be fairly common in Burma. I will therefore appeal to the friends on my left (the Phoongys) who are supposed to be the repositories of the faith you have inherited from the Buddha. Having travelled in Ceylon and now fairly long enough in Burma, I feel that we in India have perhaps more fully, though by no means as fully as possible, interpreted the message of the Buddha than you have done. We have it in our Shastras that whenever things go wrong, good people and sages go in for *tapasya* otherwise known as austerities. Gautama himself, when he saw oppression, injustice and death around him, and when he saw darkness in front of him, at the back of him and on each side of him, went out in the wilderness and remained there fasting and praying in search of light. And if such penance was necessary for him who was infinitely greater than all of us put together, how much more necessary is it for us, no matter whether we are dressed in yellow or not? My friends, if you will become torch-bearers lighting the path of a weary world towards the goal of ahimsa, there is no other way out of it, save that of

self-purification and penance. So many priests are sitting here today. If some of them will take upon themselves the work of interpreting the message of the Buddha, they will revolutionize life. You will not be guided by rigid traditions, but will search your hearts and your scriptures and tear the hidden meaning lying behind the written word and vivify your surroundings. You will then find upon searching your hearts that it is not enough not to take animal life, but you must see to it that it is not taken for the pleasures of the palate. You will then at once realize that it is inconsistent with the doctrine of love for all that lives to turn our mouths into chimneys. I understand that drink is on the increase in a people so simple-hearted as the Burmese and in a climate which does not necessitate the drinking of the fiery liquid. You will immediately see on further research that there is no room for one who loves everything that lives to have fear lurking in his breast. You will yourself cease to fear authority and you will teach all around you to cease to fear anybody. I hope that these few words that I have spoken to you in all humility and from the bottom of my heart will be received by you in the same spirit in which they have been spoken. Since you have at all your meetings credited me with a spirit of non-violence and truth, I have endeavoured to interpret in the best way I could the message of non-violence and truth as I have understood it for an unbroken period of 40 years. May the words I have spoken find a lodgment in your hearts and may they bear abundant fruit, and if they do, there should be no difficulty in all factions and parties combining together for a common cause. I thank you for having listened to me with such patience and in perfect silence.

Young India, 18-4-1929

148. *SPEECH AT LABOURERS' MEETING, RANGOON*

March 20, 1929

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I have no strength now to stand. For this reason I cannot give you much time. When I sit down please do not forget to remain peaceful. I have no time. At 8 o'clock I must do some other work and it is now about a quarter to eight. I want you to do good and shun the evil. Do not drink and gamble. Do not be moral wrecks and then only you can keep your home sweet and peaceful. I know the Tamil people. I know your virtue and your folly in South Africa. Many of your people were associated with me. I want you to give up all the evil habits. I pray you do this for your children's sake who must be good and honest to brother labourers. What I wish to say is I am myself a labourer. I am a sweeper and a cobbler. I have learnt the work of a cobbler and my son is doing the same. Between you and me this is the only difference that you are forced labourers and I am a voluntary labourer.

Besides doing your duties towards your home you have another duty. There are some who are poorer than you are. You must serve those poor. The Chittagong labourers voluntarily came to me and handed me a purse within five minutes. Would you make a little sacrifice of your money? Do not your hearts weep for those who are in greater distress? There are many of them who are spinning and weaving khadi for you and you should wear it. May God bless you.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22-3-1929

149. SPEECH AT STUDENTS' MEETING, RANGOON[1]

March 20, 1929

To the Muslim students in a crowded hall last evening Mahatmaji replying in Urdu said that he was very glad to receive an invitation from this Association. Whenever it was possible he always accepted invitations from Muslim bodies and that was why he paid a visit to the Islamia National School and the Zanniatul Islam Girls' School. Unfortunately the political atmosphere in India had become surcharged with distrust and suspicion which had taken the place of mutual trust and confidence in the hearts of both Hindus and Muslims. He therefore welcomed that opportunity to reiterate his creed before them. He said that times without number and he would ask them to understand that his faith was, if possible, firmer today than ever before. There could be no real swaraj for India without the willing co-operation and heart unity of the Hindus and the Muslims and that such unity and co-operation were bound to come sooner or later. They had rightly referred in the address to the Jamia Millia which was very near and dear to his heart. Whatever was possible for him to do for that College he had done and would do in future and he trusted that God would continue to keep that desire in his mind till the end of his life. The other day he spoke at length at the Jubilee Hall about the student movement and purity and he felt it was unnecessary for him to repeat the same here and he asked them to take to their heart and put into practice what he said on that occasion and not merely keep it in their intellects. When he went to Aligarh College in 1915 he had spoken to his Muslim friends there and hoped from that College would emerge men who would be prepared to turn fakirs for the political uplift of India and Islam. Lastly he considered that any service rendered to the country was service rendered to religion.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 22-3-1929

[1] An address on behalf of the Muslim Students' Association was presented to Gandhiji.

150. "THE HAND OF MAN"

The author of the following article, which he heads "The Hand of Man", writes:[1]

I do not desire to add by way of preface anything more to the letter beyond expressing the hope that the reader will take to heart the testimony against machinery worship of one who is of the West and who has therefore tasted both the sweets and the bitters of the machinery age. Let him not run away with the idea that either the writer or I abuse all machinery because it is machinery. What is resisted is the usurpation by machinery of the function of man and his consequent slavery to it.

Young India, 21-3-1929

151. CONCEIT AND IGNORANCE

Conceit and ignorance often go together. They do in Earl Winterton. The latest instance is to be found in his answers to the House of Commons in reply to questions on the burning of foreign cloth in Calcutta[2] made world famous by the wanton interference of the Calcutta police. I give below the answers of the noble Earl and the correct version against each answer:

EARL WINTERTON'S ANSWERS	CORRECT VERSION
Mr. Gandhi was not arrested.	I was arrested and released on signing a personal recognizance bond.
The Government of Bengal had intimated that the lighting of bonfire to burn foreign cloth was illegal.	The Government of Bengal never intimated that the burning of foreign cloth was illegal. The Commissioner of Police at Calcutta notified that the burning of foreign cloth in or near thoroughfares or public streets in Calcutta was illegal in terms of the Police Act.

[1] The article and the letter are not reproduced here. In his article the writer, an American painter, had tried to show that Gandhiji's was a *human* ideal as opposed to "the inhuman mechanistic ideal sweeping over the world".

[2] *Vide* pp. 77-81.

His (Mr. Gandhi's) persistence led to a *melee*.	My persistence did not lead to a *melee*. The wanton stupidity of the police was responsible for what happened in spite of my clearest possible statement made in their hearing that there was no intention to defy the law and that they could prosecute me if they chose and test the legality of my action in burning foreign cloth. The police brutally dispersed the crowd near the place of fire and sought to extinguish it after it had done its work.
The prosecution should be postponed till Mr. Gandhi had returned from Burma on condition that there would be no similar bonfire in Calcutta in the mean time.	The condition agreed to by me was that there would be no similar bonfire in the public squares of Calcutta. The bonfires continue on private premises in Calcutta.

The corrections can all be verified from the public Press. The mis-statements made by the noble Earl are, it may be observed, important and made the police appear innocent of any guilt or error.

The noble Earl crowned his answers by the following pronouncement:

> There is no new political situation and the House may rest assured that the Government of Bengal will enforce ordinary law against those attempting to break it whether political leaders or their dupes.

He may out of his conceit which hides the truth from him declare that there is "no new political situation". He who runs may see that a new political situation has undoubtedly arisen in India by reason of the high-handed action of the police. It will depend upon the public workers to demonstrate the strength of the new situation. This much is certain that the bonfire lighted in Shraddhanand Park will not be quenched by any amount of lathi display by the police force and any other exhibition of the "strong arm" of the Government. Only a complete boycott of foreign cloth can quench that fire.

The noble Earl's assurance to the House about the enforcement of the ordinary law whether against "political leaders or their

dupes" was a gratuitous insult offered to the leaders and the people. To this we are used. The only answer that self-respecting persons can offer to such insult is to accelerate the rate of their progress towards their goal. It is however necessary here to show that the Government of Bengal is not enforcing the mere ordinary law. It is enforcing lynch law. Ordinary law would have meant a mere prosecution for the breach of a police regulation. Only under extraordinary circumstances are the police allowed to take the law into their own hands. But of this more hereafter. I am writing this in Burma and in ignorance of the latest events. When may the police take the law into their own hands is a question which needs careful examination so long as one works within the law.[1]

Young India, 21-3-1929

152. WOMEN AND WAR

An effective movement against war is making steady headway in the West and the women of the West are playing a most important, if not the leading, part in the movement. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom issued at its Conference at Frankfurt-on-Main held on January 4th the following telling appeal:[2]

We are too poor to give any material support. Moreover we are not a nation to take part in any war. Till we come to our own, we shall have to be victims of the war that may come upon the world, but it is possible to render more than moral and material support to the movement, that is, by regaining our freedom not by warlike means but by non-violent means. I suggest to the friends of peace for the world that the Congress in 1920 took a tremendous step towards peace when it declared that it would attain her own, namely, swaraj by non-violent and truthful means. And I am positive that if we unflinchingly adhere to these means in the prosecution of our goal, we shall have made the largest contribution to the world peace.

Young India, 21-3-1929

[1] At the end the article contained the following note: "This article was forwarded from Burma and received here before the noble Lord corrected himself. — Asstt. Ed. *Y.I.*."

[2] The appeal, not reproduced here, sought moral support and material help for the campaign for disarmament.

153. NOTES

A Visit to Miss Mayo

Dinabandhu Andrews writes as follows about his visit to Miss Mayo:[1]

> I felt it necessary, since I had imputed political motives to Miss Mayo in my first article on *Mother India*, to see her personally; and an opportunity occurred.
>
> After a very long conversation with her, during which she herself did most of the talking, it seemed clear to me that she had gone out independently without a conscious political motive. . . .
>
> But we cannot expect a personality such as that of Miss Mayo ever to understand. Therefore, when she writes about India, it is bound to be a misinterpretation.
>
> This thought grew upon me, hour after hour, as I listened to Miss Mayo and spoke to her in reply. I am sorry that I uncharitably imputed political motives to her, which I now withdraw; but at the same time I experienced, while talking with her, a sense of the great and vast dividing rift, which is extending between those who are absorbed in the superficial aspects of Western life and ourselves. . . .

Dinabandhu has given me the option of publishing this note and whilst in fairness to Miss Mayo, I have thought it necessary to publish it, it is due to the public for me to say that in spite of Dinabandhu Andrews's retraction, I am not shaken in my opinion that the book bears in it patent evidence of a political bias. It contains falsehoods which the authoress must have known to be such. She has since written things which too are probably[2] false. In the face of such patent facts, evidence to the contrary must be held to be irrelevant.

Sarojini Devi and Dinabandhu

Mr. Savel Zimand the author of *Living India* says of these two ambassadors[3] in the course of a letter:[4]

> Her extraordinary charm has won for her the reception which a person of her greatness would inevitably receive. From the talks I have

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.
[2] Perhaps a slip for "palpably"
[3] Sarojini Naidu and C. F. Andrews
[4] Only extracts are reproduced here.

had with those who were fortunate enough to meet her and those who have heard her inspiring words, I can say that she has made a deep impression wherever she has gone.

Now as to Mr. Andrews. I have been present at three luncheons where he was a guest. At two of them he told the story of the Vykom struggle and I have not seen in years an audience so touched by a speaker. He described this moral battle with great sympathy, and it came from the heart. At one of the meetings a lawyer came to me and said: "I certainly am not easily moved to tears by a speaker. But cynic as I am supposed to be, tears came to my eyes as Mr. Andrews talked. . . ."

Young India, 21-3-1929

154. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

ON BOARD THE SHIP,
March 22, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have not been able to write to you for some time. After spending two weeks in Burma we are again on board the ship. It was impossible, while in Burma, to keep in mind the mail days. Today also, I am writing this letter without any idea as to when the ship is leaving.

As for Rasik, you must have seen what I have written in *Navajivan* and *Young India*. To my mind, he is not at all dead.

We have been able to collect more than Rs. 1,50,000 in Burma. Dr. Mehta was also in Rangoon. With me are Mahadev, Pyarelal, Subbiah, Girdhari and Purushottam. There is a case against me in a Calcutta court. You will of course learn the outcome before this letter reaches you.[1]

Devdas is still at Delhi. Keshu is working in Seth Birla's factory there. Navin is with Devdas.

Let me know your experience of the new Agent.

Nimu is with Ramdas. She is with child.

Mani, Kashi's sister and wife of Maneklal, has expired.

I am in pretty good health. I have not yet been obliged to resume milk.

These days I always travel third class. For this voyage I am booked as a deck passenger. Deck journey is generally uncomfort-

[1] *Vide* pp. 200-1.

able, but the passengers are accommodating and the officers fairly good. So things are tolerable.

Ba preferred to remain behind at the Ashram. Rami has been called there.

The Udyoga Mandir, one may say, is functioning quite well.

How is Sushila progressing in her studies?

I shall be able to see Shanti at Morvi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4754

155. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

March 22, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I write this letter on board the ship. I got your letter. I only suggested the ideal. From that you may do what Nature lets you do. You already have my permission to move to a separate room. I am surprised about Yashodadevi. I will certainly discuss the matter with her when I return there. It is no doubt intolerable that they should talk among themselves at night. Discover a remedy. I am writing about it. Take Chhaganlal Joshi's help. More when we meet. I hope Sulochanabehn is doing well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 506. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

156. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

ON THE SHIP,
March 23, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got four of your letters together. I am replying to them on the ship. The deck is just above the steering chain; it, therefore, shakes and I cannot write comfortably. It is only this time that I am having real experience of deck journey, but I cannot spare the time to give a description of it.

I don't mind your having set up a khadi managing body. You are vigilant and have faith in khadi; I have, therefore, no fear. Carry on as you think best. You are likely to make mistakes, but I will not blame you for them even in my thoughts. Didn't Maganlal make mistakes? Lakshmidas, too, has made some. Man is said to be an image of error. If you have sincerity of purpose, complete vigilance, unsparing work and ceaseless effort to make yourself efficient, then any mistake which you make despite them is pardonable and must be tolerated.

You should certainly publish lists of the articles we make, it is our duty to do so.

Sulochanabehn has produced a very good impression on me. We should know how to make her feel at home in the Ashram. I approve of the idea of Vasumati and Sulochanabehn living in the same room. Give them what you can and accept what services they give. Meet their wishes as far as you can.

Your idea of starting a carding class for a short duration is good. You may write whatever you wish to about the matter in *Navajivan*. Do not, for the present, invite trainees from other provinces. However, if any qualified candidate wishes to join the class, do not refuse him admission. Take care and see that what appears in the Gujarati *Navajivan* about this matter is not reproduced in *Hindi Navajivan*. I don't write anything on the subject from here. You should write a note there and print it under your signature.

You did right in sending Romain Rolland's letter to Mirabehn.

Have a talk with Shankerlal about keeping the Maganlal memorial in the Ashram. Personally I like the suggestion. Perhaps some will feel that our rules stand in the way of this. Will Dr.

Mehta's bungalow suit for the purpose? Discuss this matter with me when I come.

I sent the draft constitution of the Cow-Service Society long ago.

You have my suggestions about how to run the Bal Mandir. You need not now consult me before making any changes or additions. It would have been a different matter if I had been there. In my absence, however, you can make any changes which are consistent with the principle.

Gangabehn's work is beyond comparison. Her sincerity and her industry should be our envy. She has practically dedicated her life to the Ashram. We should know how to bear with her temperament.

Caution Mama whenever necessary. If even then he commits any mistake, the responsibility will be his. Place before him clearly every doubt you have.

I feel worried about Totaramji's eyes. Perhaps his diet requires some change. He should live on milk, raisins and lime, or should fast and drink plenty of water. Even the eyes are intimately connected with the stomach. Which organ is not?

I cannot reconcile myself to the frequent journeys to Broach. It may be necessary to be a little strict in this matter. I know that it is difficult, especially for you, to be strict. You may, therefore, leave the problem to me, if you so wish.

I know Lakshmidas's views. I do not wish just now to prevail upon him to change them. After knowing his views on all subjects, we may, if necessary, follow a different course. That will not hurt him. He has had wide experience and suffered many times through his errors. He is a votary of khadi and an efficient worker. We should, knowing this, attach the utmost importance to his views but follow a different course when that seems necessary to us. It would be wrong not to do so. So long as we are doubtful about the correctness of our views, we should, rather than act upon them, respect Lakshmidas's experience. I return his letters.

I still hope to be able to return to the Ashram on the 28th evening. Padma[1] has decided to leave Delhi.

I have sold for a hundred rupees my spinning-wheel, the one I carried with me when travelling. So have another made for me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5394; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 61-4

[1] Not clear in the photostat source. The printed source has "Kaka",

157. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

March 23, 1929

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Today I have been looking through all the old letters. I have found one of yours too. The only way to attain mental peace is to repeat Ramanama.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 190

158. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

ON BOARD S.S. "ARONDA",
Unrevised *March 23, 1929*

CHI. MIRA,

We are nearing Calcutta. I am writing this after the evening meal of 23rd. I have had real deck experience only this time. Last time they had isolated me and insisted upon my using 2nd-class bathroom. I am going to describe the experience in *Young India*.[1]

Dr. Mehta's son Ratilal and Champa are with me. They are 2nd-class passengers. The mad girl of whom I think I wrote to you is still with me. She has defeated me. She has become intractable. I am therefore sending her back to her father. She is a wreck at present and poor Subbiah is bearing the brunt of nursing.

Milkless diet is still serving me.

You remember the dates.

Leaving Calcutta	26th
Reaching Delhi	27th
,, Sabarmati	28th night
Leaving ,,	29th night
Reaching Morvi	30th
Leaving Morvi	1st April
Reaching Sabarmati	2nd April

[1] *Vide* pp. 227-9.

Leaving Sabarmati	4th April
Reaching Bombay	5th April
Leaving Bombay	5th night
Reaching Bezwada	7th

This is subject to what happens in Calcutta.[1] The address in Bezwada should be simply my name. The programme after Bezwada will be sent later.

The collections in Burma have been good, over 1½ lacs.

I expect many letters from you tomorrow. I hope to see Rajendra Babu tomorrow.

Surendra is making headway with his tannery. He is steadily gaining experience. Balkrishna's presence at the Udyoga Mandir has been a great relief to Joshi. Did I tell you that Chhaganlal Gandhi and his wife had returned to the Mandir? Chhaganlal lost his sister-in-law the other day.

A cultured and experienced lady[2] has just now gone to the Mandir. She has gone there only for a short experience. There is a continuous ferment going on at the Mandir. It is a good sign. Chhaganlal Joshi is making a tremendous effort to deserve the post to which he has been called. The others too are trying their best. Kusum went to her mother the same day I left the Mandir for Burma. She is likely to have returned now. Vasumati is at the Mandir. Did I tell you I brought Keshu to Delhi and left him with Mr. Birla for gaining experience in his engineering workshop?

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5353. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9409

[1] At the trial on March 26

[2] Sulochanabehn

159. PURDAH AND SUNLIGHT

Dr. Kathleen Olga Baden was for a number of years the chief medical officer in a women's hospital in Kashmir. In addition, she has had a good deal of medical experience also. Kashmir has a cold climate and is considered good for health, but it has been her experience that it has proved inimical to the health of middle-class women. Those women who wear the *burqa* hardly ever stir out of their houses. As a result, their bones get softened. The pelvis particularly becomes so much softened and deformed that they suffer great pain at child-birth. Some of them become too weak to walk and even become bow-legged. This lady has written a little booklet on her experiences.

She has expressed the opinion in this booklet that the sole reason, or the chief reason at any rate, why so many women in Kashmir are reduced to such a state is that they are kept away from sunlight. They remain confined within their homes where they do not even get daylight, how then could they get any sun? Adducing a number of examples and arguments, she proves that those who stay away from sunlight become weak in constitution, their bones get softened, their growth is arrested and they become pale and lacklustre. On the other hand, those who enjoy open air and light and get the sun's rays direct on their skin develop a strong constitution. They grow to be tall and are free from anaemia and diseases like tuberculosis. She proves in the course of her article that even a thing like cut glass intervening between a man's skin and the sun's rays prevents his receiving the essential health-giving elements from the sun. Hence she suggests that every man and woman, and especially those women who wish to have children, should take a sun-bath with their bodies bared, during the first quarter of the day. This sun-bath is not to be taken under a very hot sun and it is to be taken in such a way that one does not feel cold while exposing one's body to the sun but enjoys the sun's warmth.

This lady writes that the chief cause of a number of complications arising at the time of child-birth among Indian women is lack of sunlight. The houses in India in which women remain confined have neither gardens nor open grounds where the women can walk about bare-bodied. It is her view that disappearance of the evil custom of the *purdah* will take time, hence, in the mean while, a condition must be created in which women who

observe *purdah* get facilities for sun-bath and physical exercise. Therefore she says there should be facilities in hospitals whereby, unobserved by men, women are able to receive the sun's rays and walk about bare-bodied. Likewise, she recommends that there should be schools for girls also. These should be located in open country so that no one may be able to observe the girls from terraces, or while passing along the road. This sister observes that only harm and no good will result from the practice of making a house dark during summer.

From this little booklet what we can learn about women is first, that we should strive as hard as possible to put an end to the evil custom of the *purdah*. Secondly, that no one—man or woman—should fear the sun, but should take a sun-bath bare-bodied for as long as possible. After taking a bath in the morning, one should salute the sun a hundred times or more and repeat the *Gayatri mantra*. It is being realized more and more that, while there is certainly spiritual significance and value in this, there is also an equally great worldly meaning and benefit.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-3-1929

160. *WHAT SHOULD THE ANTYAJAS DO?*

A worker among *Antyajas* writes as follows:[1]

I have not relaxed. I believe I have not failed to pursue the course which I think will remove untouchability. I see untouchability disappearing with the speed of a horse; I desire day and night that it should take on the speed of wind. And I have faith that some day it will. But, meanwhile, we must be patient. One can understand what the *Antyaja* brother in the letter above is quoted as saying, but he should be patient. The reformer is always in a minority in this world. If he secured companions easily, the reform would not be worth much. Untouchability is a very ancient evil. Then it has been given a religious garb. One aspiring to destroy it should not at all expect to get ready support. Whatever work has been accomplished so

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that in spite of all the work that had been done for the eradication of untouchability, the untouchables were still looked down upon and insulted. He had also described his meeting with an educated Harijan youth who had said that he did not like to live with other members of his community because they refused to reform their habits and ways of living despite all his attempts to educate them and complained that even Gandhiji had relaxed in his efforts.

far and whatever co-operation has been obtained is, indeed, due to God's grace. The *Antyaja* youth in question should also remember that whatever purity he has attained is not for the sake of anyone else but for himself. Hence, he must derive mental peace from that purity itself. He who expects others to appreciate the worth of his own purity has not truly become pure. Purity is always self-reliant. Moreover, he should not, out of despair, abandon his brother-*Antyajas*. Those who have been suppressed for ages will take time to come into their own, to be awakened. It is necessary to cultivate patience and love towards them. The entire *Antyaja* society is likely to receive the education and the opportunities which this *Antyaja* brother has received. It is necessary, therefore, to understand his sadness. He has quoted a proverb about the stone.[1] I shall remind him of another: "A rope can cut hard granite." And this line contains greater truth than the former. When the waters from the Himalayas come rushing down on the rocks, they are not left just dry, they get worn into powder. The water of love will melt even a heart of stone.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-3-1929

161. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*March 24, 1929*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The letters written on the ship were posted yesterday and you must have received them. On reaching Calcutta I saw your letters.

You did right in running down to Vadaj to put out the fire there. We may not take out an insurance, but should certainly possess fire-fighting equipment and practise with it once every month. This will stand us in good stead. We should also so arrange things in the house that the danger of fire is minimized. We should make children conscious of their responsibility in this matter. The rule is this: to the extent that we protect ourselves with external means, to that extent our soul is injured and loses its strength.

Everyone should make it a rule that they do not bring buffalo's ghee into the kitchen.

1 "Water overflows a stone and leaves it dry."

2 The letter seems to have been written on the day on which Gandhiji returned to Calcutta. He returned on this date.

I shall talk to you about the yarn spun by the members of the Khadi Pratishthan. There is little possibility of anyone from Bengal coming there to learn the work.

If you ask me about suspiciousness[1] when I am free, I shall explain at some length.

You can send to Calcutta the khadi which is lying in Bombay and elsewhere. It should not be moth-eaten or too old. The store here is short of khadi stocks just now. After the bonfire of clothes, the demand for khadi has gone up very much.

Hasn't Bichaldas, who came from Rohri, brought any letters? Give him enough tailoring work and teach him to do it well. See whether he obeys all rules. Introduce him to Malkani. About the land in Chalala, ask me [when we meet].

When a death occurs in the Ashram, the common kitchen should not stop, but it might be desirable that no cooking is done. We always have a stock of ready food which we can supply to those who wish to eat. If necessary, discuss this matter further with others. I would see nothing wrong even if cooking is done. A death is not an occasion for mourning. No work or activity should be stopped as a mark of mourning, but some of the inmates who attend to cremation, etc., may not be able to eat. There will also be some who, though not wishing to observe mourning, will obey the custom in accordance with the nature of their relationship with the dead person. It is with these considerations in mind that I have suggested that cooking be stopped. If death occurs while cooking is in progress it need not be stopped. We do not observe the practice of *sootak*[2] in the Ashram.

Send to Rajaji the money received for the South Relief Fund.

I regard the use of the hide of slaughtered goats unavoidable. It is desirable to restrict such use to the minimum. It would also be right that we manage with cow's hide as far as possible. The restriction accepted by us on the basis of dharma stops at present with cows and buffaloes.

I enclose with this a letter from Mirabehn. That part of it which is about Yogendra should be read with attention. She has already written to you about the matter. If, however, you know more about him, it will help you when he comes there. Rajendrababu is here. He has suggested that the couple be sent there. We ought to take them in and train them. They find

[1] *Vide* p. 86.

[2] Treating as polluted the food and water in the homes of the relatives of the deceased

Mirabehn's work wonderful. Rajendrababu had gone there to see it and was very pleased.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5498

162. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 25, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I posted a letter[1] yesterday written on the boat. On reaching here I found three letters from you. There should have been one today but nothing up to 4 p.m. It looks as if there would be no difficulty about my leaving tomorrow.

Rajenbabu is here. He has told me all about your activity. You have little for anybody else to tell me of your doings.

The heat here during the day is fairly strong. The morning was quite cool and there was a breeze throughout the night.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5354. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9410

163. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

CALCUTTA,
Silence Day, March 25, 1929

SISTERS,

I write this just to show that I remember you, for I hope to reach there practically at the same time as this letter.

Nowhere do I see such real education—that based on experience—being given to people as you women receive in the Udyoga Mandir. But we have still much more to do. We should reach a stage when we can admit any woman without fear.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 1: Ashramni Behnone, p. 59

[1] Presumably this was the one dated March 23; *vide* pp. 173-4.

164. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [March 25, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. Vasumatibehn writes that you are suffering from headaches. Father's letter has arrived. I am enclosing it. The rest on meeting.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Rajendrababu is here.

[PPS.]

Tell Vasumatibehn and Kusumbehn that I am not writing to them today.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3322

165. STATEMENT IN THE COURT[2]

CALCUTTA,
March 26, 1929

Occupying the position I do in public life I owe an explanation to the Court and the public of my conduct which is the subject-matter of this prosecution. I am Chairman of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the National Congress. The scheme of boycott sanctioned by the Working Committee includes burning of foreign cloth wherever it is possible. Therefore I naturally advised collection and burning of foreign cloth at the meeting that was held at Shraddhanand Park. The notice from the Commissioner of Police came upon me and my colleagues as a disturbing factor. We saw at once that it was not meant *for protection of property from danger of fire* but it was meant to prevent the demonstration. It was *open to us to conduct the burning demonstration* at a private place. But two lawyers came to the conclusion that the interpretation sought to be put upon Section 66 of the Police Act was at least

[1] This letter appears to have been written from Calcutta after Gandhiji's return from Burma. The presence of Rajendrababu is mentioned in the letter of this date to Mirabehn.

[2] Of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta

open to question, if not altogether wrong. We therefore decided to conduct the full demonstration at the Park as advertised and have the police interpretation tested in a Court of Law.

This boycott is not part of civil disobedience. There was no intention to defy the police notice for the sake of defiance and courting imprisonment.

I made this absolutely clear in English within the hearing of the police at the meeting before I started the burning. I believe that the Deputy Commissioner of Police was present whilst I was speaking. I was therefore surprised and deeply pained to see the police, after the burning was well nigh over, swoop down upon the crowd surrounding the fire, charge it with their big lathis, disperse it and put out the dying embers. The rest of the painful scene I may not describe here though I should gladly answer questions on it if the Court so desires.

I venture to submit that by taking the law into their own hands, especially in spite of my very clear statement above referred to, the Police put themselves in the wrong and should change places with me. They should be the accused and my colleagues and I should be the complainants. I have before now in other parts of the world been obliged to differ from police interpretations of laws and act contrary to their notices. But they have recognized the civilized practice of testing the points involved in law-courts without in the first instance prejudging the issue and thus running the risk of themselves breaking the law and, what is more, of inviting a disturbance of public peace.

I affirm that the crowd was absolutely peaceful and extremely well-behaved. There was no danger to the neighbouring property from the little fire that was lighted. The site chosen for burning was well protected and isolated. It was therefore the duty of the police to refrain from interfering with the peaceful and orderly demonstration. Their interference in my opinion was rudely premature, extremely high-handed and uncalled for. In putting out the fire they usurped the function of the Court and anticipated its judgment. If you believe the statement of facts I have made I ask Your Worship to discharge me and my colleagues and take such notice of the conduct of the police as may be open to you. And this discharge I ask irrespective of the interpretation the Court may put upon the Section under which I am charged.

One word as to the interpretation of the Section. Sjt. Sen Gupta was one of the lawyer friends referred to in my speech at the Shraddhanand Park. After having had another argument with him I am clear in my mind that Shraddhanand Park is nei-

ther a street nor a thoroughfare within the meaning of the Section. Since it is not the intention, so far as possible, of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee to offer civil disobedience in connection with the campaign, an authoritative interpretation of the Section is necessary. But I may not argue the legal point.

As to the three of my colleagues who are charged with the primary offence, I should like to state that the burning was actually started by me. If therefore any offence has been committed by any of us, the primary offence has been committed by me and the rest three are but the secondary offenders.[1]

Forward, 27-3-1929

166. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

CALCUTTA,
March 26, 1929

MIRABEHN
KHADI BHANDAR
MADHUBANI

JUDGMENT RESERVED LEAVING TODAY DELHI EXPRESS.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5355. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9411

167. REPORT ON BURMA P. C. C. AFFAIRS

Confidential [Before *March 27, 1929*][2]

In virtue of the instructions given to me by the Working Committee, I inspected the affairs of the Burma P.C.C.

The Committee exists only in name. Sjt. V. Madanjit is the moving spirit. He is the committee and everything. There is no executive worth the name. Hardly any meetings are held. There is no volunteer organization attached to the B.P.C.C. Lawyers are, I was told, afraid to join the Congress. There is no contact with the villages. Members are enrolled once every year without reference to the registered ones. Sjt. V. Madanjit goes

[1] The judgment was reserved for the next day. For Gandhiji's comment on the Court's verdict, *vide* pp. 200-1.

[2] This was received at the A.I.C.C. on March 27, 1929.

out and collects names and four annas. The receipts barely cover his travelling expenses. Sjt. Madanjit is an honorary worker and capable of great sacrifice. He has influence too among the people, but it is of a negative character. He cannot take any constructive work from the people. I could not get hold of any written constitution. The Committee has practically no office unless the Khadi Bhandar address may be called an office. It has no staff. The nominal membership roll is about 800 of whom not more than 10 are Burmese. The majority are Rangoon Indians. There is a district committee in Akyab, but that too only in name. In 1921 there were 5,600 members and 14 taluk committees.

The finances of the Committee, such as they are, are kept in a most business-like manner by an able Gujarati merchant. I attach hereto a copy of the audited account. I saw the books. They were in a good and clean condition.

There is a khadi bhandar run under the auspices of the A.I.-S.A. It is run without any loss. This bhandar may be claimed to be the only substantial and constructive activity carried on in the name of Congress, not that even in this store many people are taking a lively interest. It is going on because there is business ability behind it. There is a fair proportion of habitual khadi wearers in Rangoon and elsewhere among the Indian community.

The cry for separation of Burma has created a gulf between the Burmese and the Indians. There is an anti-separatist Burmese party too. I have advised our people not to take sides and to let the Burmans decide the question for themselves. It is strange but true that an Indian party has claimed communal representation. There is, too, in the growing national consciousness, resentment against Indians carrying on intercourse with Burmese women without any formal marriage.

M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

A.I.C.C. File No. 151, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

A Hungarian professor asked me the other day to reconcile my statement about the growing poverty of India with her recurring favourable balance of trade. The professor had not gone beyond the cities of India and his knowledge was naturally based upon the usual statistics. The information derived from the statistics was enforced by the apparently prosperous appearance of the cities he had seen.

The honest doubt entertained by the learned professor is not improbably shared by many who study the orthodox economics in the orthodox manner. It may be therefore worth while reproducing the gist of my reply for what it may be worth. Suppose, I argued, that a country was owned by a certain number of slave-holders who compelled their slaves to grow foodgrains and other articles of value to the world, who paid them hardly enough to keep the wolf from the door, and themselves made enormous profits out of the grain thus grown and exported; suppose further that the total of these exports of grain, etc., was greater than the total imports of this country, the favourable trade balance would be no test of the prosperity of its people in general. It could exist side by side with the growing poverty and degradation of the slaves. I suggested to the professor that the position of India was not far removed from the slave-ridden country imagined. I therefore argued that in order accurately to understand the hidden meaning of the recurring favourable balances it was necessary to study the conditions of certain typical villages in India and to see also the villagers face to face. Of what use I told him could an all-India favourable balance be to the villagers, if they did not reap the fruits thereof and if the villages betrayed, as I held they did, a process of continuing exhaustion?

The late Dadabhai Naoroji showed by telling figures how the wealth of India was drained away from year to year owing to the foreign rulers living their more than princely lives practically outside India even whilst they were nominally and physically living in India. The favourable balance of India represents the continual bleeding process to which she is subjected in order to sustain a rule which is based not upon the goodwill of the people but upon a show of force which is kept up at an extraordinary expense of which a large part goes out of India.

It has been truly said by economists themselves that statistics can be made to prove two contradictory propositions. It is therefore necessary for a prudent man who is not concerned with merely proving a preconceived proposition but who is concerned solely with finding the truth to probe beneath statistics and test independently every proposition deduced from them. It is no doubt good to know the average depth of a river, but a non-swimmer who on learning that its average depth is below his height attempts to ford it is likely to find a watery grave. Even so will a man lose reputation for sanity who relies upon the mirage of statistics dressed up for him. Just as a man who would ford a river must know its highest and its lowest depth, even so should a man desirous to make a valid use of statistical abstracts have access to the underlying figures and know how to handle them. But the average man has neither the time nor the ability to study bewildering figures. For him the real test is the experience of the village life, if he would know the condition of real India. Such experience cannot be belied by any statistical jugglery.

Eye-witnesses including English administrators whose interest it would be to find the contrary have testified that India has been growing poorer under the British regime. Go to the villages and you will find misery and despair written in the faces of the inhabitants. Both they and their cattle are underfed; mortality is on the increase, they have no resisting power when disease overtakes them. It is well known that malaria is not a disease to dread if one has quinine and a good supply of pure milk. Yet malaria carries away thousands of villagers year by year. They may have quinine thrown at them but they cannot get milk for the convalescent period. Their indebtedness is increasing. It is a blasphemy to impute it to marriage expenses and the like. These are no new charge on their dwindling purse. The story of hoarded wealth and conversion of silver coin into ornaments is a fable. Millions have and had no silver or gold ornaments. They wear hideous wooden, even stone bangles and rings which interfere with their free movement and undermine their health. Their illiteracy is if anything on the increase. These are no signs of growing prosperity.

Now let us glance at the nature of exports and imports. The exports in 1927-28 were Rs. 309 crores, the imports over Rs. 231 crores. The exports were principally raw products, e.g., cotton, foodgrains, oil-seeds, hides and skins, metals and ores. These could have remained in India if we had skill and capital enough to put into them or if we had a government that would regard

it as its bounden duty to give us the necessary skill and to find the necessary capital. The story of India's exports is a story of our impotence and the criminal indifference of the Government to the well-being of the people.

The imports include cotton manufactures Rs. 65 crores, artificial silk Rs. 4 crores, sugar Rs. 18 crores, metals and their manufactures Rs. 23 crores, motor vehicles Rs. 5 crores, liquors Rs. 3 crores, cigarettes nearly 2 crores. These imports too tell the same tale of our impotence where it is not worse. The imports of a country in a healthy state of progress should be such as the country may need for its growth. The imports I have mentioned are not needed for our growth. Liquor and cigarettes promote our degradation. Cotton manufactures, the largest item among imports, discover our shame and wretchedness. They remind us of what the villages must have been when they were manufacturing all that cloth in their own homes with their own hands. What is there in the place of hand-spinning to supply the villagers with work during their idle hours? What can replace the drain of the millions they spend on flimsy foreign calico? Such a people must necessarily grow, as they are growing, poorer and duller.

Young India, 28-3-1929

169. KHADI IN THE LEGISLATURES

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari is applying his legal ingenuity to devising means of giving effect to that clause in the foreign-cloth boycott scheme which requires of the legislatures to protect or popularize khadi through them. He has therefore sent in to the President of the Congress the following draft bill for his consideration:

Whereas the name 'khaddar' and 'khadi' have come to mean cotton cloth which is spun and woven by hand in India;

And whereas it is desirable to protect the said names; It is hereby enacted as follows:

1. This Act may be called the Indian Khaddar (Name Protection) Act 1929.

2. In this Act, 'khaddar' and 'khadi' mean cotton cloth which is spun and woven by hand in India.

3. The names 'khaddar' and 'khadi' whether in English or in any Indian vernacular language as exclusively signifying cotton cloth spun and woven in India by hand shall be deemed to be trade descriptions within the meaning of the Merchandise Marks Act IV of 1889.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Considerable progress has been made in recent years in reviving and popularizing the spinning and weaving of cotton by hand as a supplementary occupation among the agriculturist population of this country, who stand in need of an additional source of income. Such progress as has been achieved is very largely supported by the patriotic impulse of the well-to-do classes who are purchasing khaddar at a sacrifice. The situation is sought to be taken advantage of by manufacturers of spurious khaddar both in India and abroad and purchasers have been frequently misled to the detriment of what might easily become a great national industry. The Bill, therefore, seeks to extend the protection afforded by the Merchandise Marks Act 1889 to the names 'khaddar' and 'khadi' which have come to denote hand-spun and hand-woven cloth only. The exclusive use of these terms for this cloth cannot prejudicially affect *bona fide* producers or distributors of any other variety of cloth.

The Bill is short and effective and if it becomes law it can at once prevent those unpatriotic mill-owners and foreigners who manufacture coarse cloth and sell it under the label khaddar or khadi. I have already given figures showing what an extensive trade these men have done in spurious khadi.[1] The Assam Council has already successfully piloted a resolution calling upon the local Government to make all its cloth purchase in genuine khadi. I hope that the members will not rest till the resolution is enforced in practice and will see to it that the Government do not buy mill khadi. If the members of the legislatures are serious about the constructive programme they can keep both the boycott of foreign cloth and prohibition of liquor and opium constantly before them. There is no reason why we should not reach total prohibition at once if all the members desire it and work for-it.

Young India, 28-3-1929

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 189-90 and 302.

170. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

March 29, 1929

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. Though I shall certainly reach there by the 5th, it would be advisable to choose another date. Please see me in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6593

171. INTERVIEW TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA[1]

AHMEDABAD,
March 29, 1929

Mr. Gandhi said that he could not believe that the fine was paid by or on behalf of the Bengal Congress Committee. He could call nothing his own in this world from which he could pay the fine and this apart from his views on payment of fine. Mr. Sen Gupta knew this thing and therefore whoever had paid the fine could not be his friend.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 30-3-1929

172. SPEECH AT KATHIAWAR POLITICAL CONFERENCE, MORVI[2]

March 30, 1929

It is a matter of shame for me that you are not able to hold the Conference without me. As far as the rulers are concerned, there is nothing for them to be ashamed of in the desire, but it betrays lack of confidence, and for the sponsors it is a matter of

[1] A representative of the Associated Press asked Gandhiji if it was a fact that a fine imposed on him by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, was paid by a pleader on behalf of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

[2] Fifth Kathiawar Political Conference held under the Presidentship of Vallabhbhai Patel

shame. One can understand my coming here by chance as a native of Kathiawar, but for you to consider my coming as imperative and to fix the time of the Conference to suit my convenience puts me to shame. This condition must now be dispensed with. If you cannot do without my presence, it is better that the Conference is not held. I am saying this on my own; it is sad that there are not young people present here who hold this view. I told them that, if they brought forward a censure motion, I would support them. I am trying to free even Devchandbhai from this addiction and I wish to tell him that he should not abjectly believe that the Conference cannot be held without me. If we wish to organize the people, we should have the capacity to do so without any man, however great or talented he may be. We all believe that there is the same self in all of us; everyone has a hidden power which he can make manifest at any time and become great. Democracy consists in developing that power. When Kitchener died, the Government machinery did not come to a halt, the Empire did not perish, the War did not end; only another man took his place. Even when Gladstone passed away, the Government machinery did not cease to function. That nation has the self-confidence that it can produce any number of Gladstones.

We have gained by that resolution[1]. It has brought us not dishonour, but greater honour. We have even served the States thereby. That service would surely pain us if we were among those who believed that the Princely States could never reform themselves, that they must be put an end to. Prominent and intelligent men after much experience are coming more and more to the position that the rot has spread to such an extent in the States and their rulers that it is now impossible to reform them. There are reasons why more and more people are holding this view; some of these reasons have been deliberately provided by the Princes, while some are due to the prevailing anarchy. That anarchy is dear even to me, but there is order in my anarchy, there is a kind of peace in my agitation. But my friends do not concede this. And though I am inclined to be an anarchist and a rebel, I still hold that there is scope for reform in this State. If I believed that no reform could ever take place, that the Princely States must of necessity be destroyed, I would not take part in this Conference, because how could I make an appeal to one whose

[1] The Porbandar resolution concerning holding of the Conference on certain conditions

extermination I desired? But today I wish to deal with them with love, not by threats. With the British Government also I wish to deal with love, but I wish to destroy it with love. I have many friends among Englishmen. I only wish to destroy the system. Hence I make no appeal to the Government. The position is different with the Princely States, considering which, there is no dishonour in the limitation we have accepted. It is a beautiful tree; it will produce good fruit. In it lies service to the Rulers because they are dependent. We should understand that dependence and, if we do so, we should respect the limitation and should not place them in an embarrassing situation. The resolutions we pass today should be in the interests of both the parties. Only if they promote the well-being of both the rulers and the ruled, can we work along the path of peace. If your minds have become unsteady after Porbandar, I say that you should calm down and I believe you can do a lot of work within that limitation. . . .

How much have you spun, how many spinning-wheels have you got going, how much khadi have you used? What a shame it is that for Amreli khadi I have to find customers in Calcutta? You have come here as representatives of 25 lakhs of farmers, how do you represent them? If you are truthful, you must do constructive work or give the Conference a different form. How sad it is that one sees at every point artificiality and falsehood, instead of truth which should exist in a political conference? Mulchand wants lots of money for the *Antyajas*; that he should have to come to me for it is a matter of shame. Are not three or four thousand rupees a small matter? That whole sum should come in if I speak and the Sardar asks for it. Young men of character are required for this work. If you do this and such other work, your political strength will grow. If we do no political work, why should we have the name 'Political' Conference? We may have a descriptive name — we may have a spinning-wheel conference or a world reform conference. Whatever you do you must establish your rule over 25 lakhs of farmers—that you can do only by binding them with the bond of love. What did Vallabhbhai do? When the authority of the Empire was the highest in all its history, an individual took a crore from the Government and even undertook its administration himself.[1] The Governor held out dire threats in Bardoli, but ultimately, Vallabhbhai won his point. Vallabhbhai is made of the same clay as you and I, but he became

[1] The meaning of the sentence is obscure.

a farmer, he shared with Bardoli its joys and sorrows, he danced as they made him dance, so that today the farmers dance to his tune. But do not forget that the key to Bardoli lay in the spinning-wheel. It is not political talk that works everywhere. Give up the false notion that you can get things done by harping on the Rulers' faults. I did not speak about politics in South Africa. I did not even mention the name of the Congress in Champaran. But the maximum work of the Congress is being done there today. It will avail you nothing if you try to intimidate the Ruler by means of great speeches, it will not even amuse children. It is a different matter if you want to wrest the reins of Government through disorder. If you believe that someone may go crazy and, frightened by disorder, will grant your demands, it is useless for me to make a speech and for you to listen to it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-4-1929

173. MESSAGE TO KATHIAWAR COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE

[Before *March 31, 1929*][1]

Let Kathiawar merchants prove that there is room for benevolence in trade also.

The Tribune, 6-4-1929

174. AHIMSA v. *COMPASSION*

The following letter has lain with me for a long time. I had thought of replying to it when I had some leisure. A little of this I have today on the steamer. I have abridged the letter as follows:[2]

The intention of the writer is excellent, but I think his study and experience of ahimsa is slight. There is as much difference between ahimsa and compassion as there is between gold and the

[1] The Conference was held at Morvi on March 31.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that, in his view, Gandhiji's use of the word 'ahimsa' in place of 'compassion' and *vice versa* was likely to give rise to confusion in the public mind. He had asked for a clarification.

shape given to it, between a root and the tree which sprouts from it. Where there is no compassion, there is no ahimsa. The test of ahimsa is compassion. The concrete form of ahimsa is compassion. Hence it is said there is as much ahimsa as there is compassion. If I refrain from beating up a man who comes to attack me, it may or may not be ahimsa. If I refrain from hitting him out of fear, it is not ahimsa. If I abstain from hitting him out of compassion and with full knowledge, it is ahimsa.

That which is opposed to pure economics cannot be ahimsa. Pure *artha* is that which includes the supreme *artha*. Ahimsa is never a losing transaction. The subtraction of one side of ahimsa from the other yields zero, that is to say, the two sides are equal. He who eats to live, lives to serve and earns just enough for his food and clothing, is though acting, free from action, and non-violent though committing violence. Ahimsa without action is an impossibility. Action does not merely mean activity of hands and feet. The mind performs greater activity than even hands and feet. Every thought is an action. There can be no ahimsa in the absence of thought. The dharma of ahimsa has been conceived only for an embodied being like man.

When a person who may eat anything limits, out of compassion, the things he will eat, he observes to that extent the dharma of ahimsa. On the other hand, when an orthodox person does not eat meat, etc., he does a good thing but we cannot say that he necessarily has ahimsa in him. Where there is ahimsa, there ought to be conscious compassion.

If the dharma of ahimsa is really good, insistence on following it in every way in our daily life is not a mistake, but a duty. There should be no clash between worldly actions and dharma. Action which is opposed to dharma deserves to be eschewed. It is *himsa* and delusion and ignorance to say that ahimsa cannot be practised at all times, in all places and fully and so to set it aside. True endeavour consists in seeing that one's daily conduct follows ahimsa. This requires real endeavour. Acting thus a man will ultimately gain the supreme state because he will become fit fully to observe ahimsa. For other men perfect ahimsa will only remain in the form of a seed. There is violence at the root in the very act of living and hence arose the negative word ahimsa indicating of the dharma to be observed by embodied beings.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 31-3-1929

175. TO GUJARATIS RESIDENT IN BURMA

How can I describe the love which I receive wherever I go? Everywhere the same enthusiasm, the same shouts, the same crowds, the same downpour of coins. Is it any wonder that my trust in God increases and I see that the power of the spinning-wheel grows every day? If the people have faith in some other power of mine, why would they give me money for the spinning-wheel? If I were to beg in order to make swords instead of spinning-wheels, the people would not pay.

I wanted to spend a month in Burma, but my schedule this year has been so tight that I could not have given, there was no question of my giving, more time than I did. Hence I had to leave out many places, disappoint thousands and, to that extent, the coffers of *Daridranarayana* remain unfilled.

I do not wish to set down all my impressions in this article. Mahadev and Pyarelal will give them. I shall only mention a few things on which I feel I must write specially.

The people of Burma appeared to me unsophisticated, simple and trusting. The freedom which their women enjoy is enjoyed by women nowhere else in the world. I did not feel that, because of that freedom, they were bad in any way. There is modesty in their eyes. We might not like some of their ways; if the Burmese system of marriage strikes us as somewhat slack the women are not to blame; they see in it no impurity at all.

My feeling is that the Indians have been taking advantage of the innocence of these simple women. The educated people of Burma do not approve of the conduct of the Indians with regard to their women. It would not pain them if Indians married Burmese girls with proper ceremony, but I could see they intensely dislike those who merely indulge in their sexual urge. Indians ought to keep their conduct in this matter above board. I know that *Navajivan* may not reach the hands of those who are guilty; if it does, they may not read this and if by chance they do, they may angrily or without thinking throw it away. But I have sounded this warning out of a hope that those who read this article and have the above experience or know those who have illicit contacts will admonish them.

It seems the work of the Congress in Burma as in other provinces is almost at a standstill. Its register of names is not a continuous record. The names which are there are those enrolled by

Madanjit. One's relationship with the Congress is nominal; it both begins and ends with one's giving a four-anna coin. No other constructive work is being done apart from the running of the Bhandar by the All-India Spinners' Association in the name of the Congress. It will not be incorrect to say that even these nominal members are only Indians.

This pitiable state must change; that is not a job for Madanjit alone or any other single person. All of you should take interest in it. You should start such items of constructive work as can be done in Burma.

One good thing was observed in regard to Congress work. Their accounts are clean and are audited. The Bhandar has only a small amount of money, but accounts are maintained of every pie there is.

I just could not pay a visit to the Khadi Bhandar. But if it receives enough encouragement, there is much scope for its development. If any lovers of khadi wish to settle down in Burma and they have the requisite knowledge, they may be accommodated there. If merchants in other towns in Burma stock a little khadi in their shops and supply it to khadi lovers, these will be benefited and khadi will spread.

There is a lot of scope for spinning-wheel propaganda among the people of Burma. They are poor; they have ability; they have time. Formerly they used to spin; weaving is fairly prevalent even today. This propaganda work is chiefly for the Burmese, but if some benevolent spinning expert takes this work in hand, he can get it going and, perhaps, make some good Burmese interested in it. A number of Burmese have taken a pledge to take up this work. Every address received from them certainly contained praises of the spinning-wheel.

Now a few words specially about Gujaratis. Because their economic condition is good, they are in a position to carry on a number of benevolent activities. In this article I wish to speak only of the Gujarati National School. They have a costly building. The school has a good number of pupils. There is no doubt that the Gujaratis need a good school. The existing school has much room for improvement and addition. The school building is small. It is situated in a quarter where the boys and girls have no place to play in. If technical skill is to be imparted there, there is no place to house a small workshop. It has hardly enough accommodation even for the existing number of pupils and classes. Hence, there is need for a building with a playground adjoining it. If it is situated at a distance, so that boys and girls cannot

walk to it, arrangements should be made to provide transport. This facility is provided in many places. The number of classes must be increased. It is not beyond the financial capacity of the Gujaratis in Rangoon to advance as far as the Vinaya Mandir.

This school appears to be national in name only. It should be made truly national and the people should take a firm pledge. There should be a clause in its trust-deed that the school will remain national always and will never take help from the Government or seek refuge under its name. Instruction in Indian accountancy, Hindi, music and commerce should be made compulsory in the school. It should adopt the curriculum from the Gujarat Vidyapith and it should be inspected by the Vidyapith. If this school is placed on a sound foundation, its administration is improved and if the point about the control of the building and funds is clarified, Shri Chhotubhai Galiara has placed in my hands a letter promising to pay the school Rs. 50,000 immediately. It is his desire to have his name connected with the school in some way. But he has left it to the wishes of the committee or the Gujarati citizens whether this should or should not be done.

I fully hope that the Gujaratis of Rangoon will not deny themselves this gift. The school must be well organized. I have suggested that a board of trustees comprising donors of substantial sums, e.g., a minimum of Rs. 1,000 should be constituted. These should appoint a managing committee of 10 or 15 members and set up from amongst these a small board of trustees. All administrative power should vest in the managing committee. If this much is done and an assurance given that the school will retain its national character, advantage can and should be taken of Shri Galiara's offer.

It is my opinion that the wish of Shri Galiara to associate his name with the school in some way should be respected. Charities are offered and accepted only on such conditions. Shri Galiara has not stipulated a condition, but only expressed his wish. The Gujaratis' prestige consists in acceding to it. His name can be given either to the school or the building that is to be secured.

The school cannot be placed on a sound footing even with this donation. At least another sum of Rs. 50,000 has to be collected. To do so should not take even two hours. There are so many well-to-do Gujaratis in Rangoon that they will have no difficulty at all in collecting that amount.

This work must be done forthwith. This might be accomplished even before this article comes out. I hope those who had taken a pledge to get this done forthwith will do so. There is no

difficulty whatever in doing it. It is the duty of Gujaratis in Burma and, chiefly of those in Rangoon, to make this school an ideal one. Economically they are well off; they have the intelligence; only they must have a keen desire to do it.

Some may ask how they can now find this money since only recently Gandhi took away over Rs. 1,50,000. It would be uncharitable for anyone to think thus. Though the contribution of the Gujaratis to the cause of the poor is a large one, others too have given much. Again, the local Gujaratis have a personal interest in the school fund; they owe it to their children. Hence the two things are distinct. In the first case there was 95 per cent of charity; in this there is 95 per cent of self-interest.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 31-3-1929

176. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

MORVI,
[*April 1, 1929*][1]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

WIRE PROGRESS FAST SABARMATI.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6763

177. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

MORVI,
April 1, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have all your letters. I am surprised that you had not received my wire[2] even till 27th. It was duly sent immediately after the trial. Morvi, of course, you know. Everybody wanted to know where you were.

We leave here tonight.

You will be pained to know that Chhaganlal Gandhi has been discovered to have carried on systematic petty thieving for the past many years. When he was discovered, he tried to hide

[1] From the postmark
[2] *Vide* p. 182.

his guilt by forgery. Now of course he has made a confession. But the confession has not transformed him. His life became a burden to him at the Ashram and he left two days ago for Rajkot. He is hardly likely to find peace even there. This discovery is perhaps the worst incident in my life. However it left me unmoved. I have imposed no penance on myself. And beyond informing the whole colony of the sad thing, I have taken no notice of wrong doing. I have of course advised him that it is his duty to dispossess himself now of everything he has.

I am glad you are extending the building. If you have a large number staying with you, you are bound to have more accommodation.

Always omit food when there is the slightest derangement in the digestive apparatus. Never mind the weakness. Strength will return when you are able to take food. But food itself will cause weakness when the system cannot assimilate it.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5356. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9412

178. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

SABARMATI,
April 2, 1929

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

GLAD LEARN PROGRESS. OMIT SOAP FOR BATH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6765

179. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 2, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got your letters. I sent a telegram only today. I shall get the reply tomorrow at Sabarmati. Everything seems to be going on quite well. Make one change. There is no need to rub soap on the body. Dip a handkerchief in water and scrub the body with the wet cloth, it will become clean. Soap is harmful to the skin and it eats up the useful oil in the skin. The body

becomes clean by rubbing it hard with a towel. Occasionally soap may be used to remove outside dirt. It is not necessary for removing impurities of perspiration.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6764

180. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
April 3, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your further letters. I am glad you are having all the patients coming to you for help. You know what to do. This I write to put you on the right track about drugs. Even castor oil and liquorice powder are expensive things for Indian villages. There are indigenous drugs which you should use instead of liquorice powder made in England or Germany. You should use liquorice itself. It is quite effective and obtainable in every village. You get it in the form of a stick, you break the stick and get the gummy substance from the stick. A *tola* of this has simply to be mixed with a little warm milk and administered at the time of retiring to bed or better still at 4 o'clock in the morning, and patients get a clean motion. This is cheap. It can be administered in water also. Then there are the *sena* leaves cheaper even than liquorice to be obtainable everywhere. You can give *sena* leaves in powdered form or as an infusion. You can get hold of physicians who are somewhat honest and good and get through their aid these very simple drugs. There is only one thing which I fear you will have to keep and that is quinine for malarial cases. But all this is by the way. I don't want to tax you unnecessarily, and you may not wish to distract your attention by having to give your time to a study of these drugs, however superficial that study may be. You will therefore use your own judgment and do what you may consider is feasible.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
CHHATWAN CHHOTTAIPATTI, DT. DARBHANGA

From the original: C.W. 5357. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9413

181. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI, B.B.C.I. RLY.,
April 3, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I have your letter. As things are, the Andhra people have not left me a single day to enable me to go to the Ashram and then to come to Bombay, and as now the May part of the tour is really for my recreation, I would not like to leave Bombay for Allahabad on the 27th May. But I would like to come to the Ashram for a few days and then go to Almora. I could still do Cawnpore, Allahabad and Lucknow before leaving for Almora, and could even go to the Punjab if the people in the Punjab so require it. No announcement therefore need just now be made, but if you want to fix the date in advance for Cawnpore and Lucknow and even for Almora, let it be a date after 10th of June. I would like to give a clear week to the Ashram before I move out. I would like you to ascertain from the Punjab people what they would have me to do.

I have not got the Andhradesh programme rigidly fixed yet. For the time being therefore you would use Bezwada as headquarters. I expect to reach Bezwada on the 8th instant.

I would like Sitla Sahai to come here if he is not required there for the time being. I want him to be here with reference to his wife and daughter, especially so during my absence.

I send the measurements for Padma's glasses which please hand over to him. I promised to get those measurements and have them sent over to him.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

182. *THAT TEST CASE*

Nothing that I did in connection with the cloth-burning case that has just ended in a complete triumph for the Calcutta police or the Government of Bengal should serve as copy. There are many things in one's life that one would like others to copy; there are others which are not necessarily vices and yet are not meant to be and ought not to be copied. I was therefore glad that several friends were perplexed and distressed over my securing my release from detention even on giving a personal bond than on entering upon a defence and to crown all, being represented by counsel. How could I, they urged, as a confirmed non-co-operator, possibly do the three things and thus act contrary to all I have preached hitherto?

There is a consistency that is wise and a consistency that is foolish. A man who in order to be consistent would go bare-bodied in the hot sun of India and sunless Norway in midwinter would be considered a fool and would lose his life in the bargain.

I am bound to do things in a representative capacity that I may not do in my individual capacity. As a trustee of the A.I.S.A., I possess lakhs of rupees; in my individual capacity, I have not a penny I can call my own. As a trustee of the same Association, I authorize, even require the filing of law suits in unavoidable cases. In my individual capacity, I can think of no such contingency. In the bonfire case as Chairman of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee I was a trustee. If I had thought that the police notice of prohibition of bonfire was legal, I would have advised cessation of bonfire in the Shraddhanand Park. For I was not prepared as yet to advise civil disobedience. But the Section under which the notice was issued seemed to me to bear at least a double interpretation. It therefore became a fit subject for a test case. The steps that followed were in the natural course. If the right of the police to stop the burning was to be tested, the case should be defended and if it was to be defended, I should be humble enough to allow myself to be defended by counsel rather than presumptuously rely upon my ability as a one time lawyer to argue technical points of law. Not to have signed the personal bail bond would have meant taking an unwarranted liberty with my position in the public life of the country. If I had refused to sign the bail bond, I fancy that the Commissioner of Police would have still let me proceed on my voyage to Burma. But I

would have lost my reputation for delicate courtesy with which I am credited.

But cases such as this do not often occur to non-co-operators. They would avoid undertaking trusts wherein there might be conflict between public duty and private conduct. It is therefore that I warned the public against copying me in this case. The general test is that a non-co-operator should have nothing to do with bail bond or defence for his personal advantage or comfort.

The result of the case is a disappointment and a confirmation of my view about British courts of law. I was unprepared for the Court's justification of the conduct of the police. It was its duty to condemn the action of the police in creating the disturbance they did in the face of my clearest possible statement that in seeking to light the bonfire I was not acting as a civil resister but in the *bona-fide* belief that the Section in question did not apply to places like the Shraddhanand Park. As it is, the Calcutta police have received a certificate of good conduct for their rowdyism.

This judgment thus confirms my opinion that in cases of a serious clash between the authorities and the public, the judges would, even if unconsciously, exonerate the former.

It was however well that the case was fought as a test case. For without it, the great demonstration in Shraddhanand Park would have been impossible. The high-handed action of the police gave the boycott movement an advertisement and an encouragement it would never otherwise have had. The police are therefore welcome to their certificate of good conduct.

Young India, 4-4-1929

183. NOTES

The Indiscriminate Arrests

The arrests of labour leaders or so-called Communists show that the Government is in a panicky state and is betraying the symptoms to which we have been used and which presage a period of terrorism. Evidently it believes in a periodical exhibition of its capacity to supersede all law and to discover to a trembling India the red claws which usually remain under cover. Of course the farce of a trial will be duly enacted. If the accused are wise they will not run into the trap and assist the farce by being represented by counsel. But they will boldly risk imprisonment.

Presently it will be the turn of thousands not merely to risk but to face and even to court imprisonment if this reign of lawlessness under the guise of law is to be ended once for all.

It seems to me that the motive behind these prosecutions is not to kill Communism, it is to strike terror. If by Communism is meant seizure of power and property by violent means, public opinion was successfully fighting that demon. The Congress creed, indeed the creed of all political parties, is attainment of political liberty through non-violent means. But the Government by its action has given a strength to the cult of violence which it never possessed. They are shrewd enough to know that such was bound to be the case. The motive behind these arrests has therefore to be searched in another direction. One thing is certain. Terrorism like plague has lost its terror for the public. The movement of swaraj has found too deep a root in the public mind to be shaken or destroyed. It is bound to gain strength through these arrests and the other similar indications of the Government's intention to strike a death-blow at the liberty movement. For, the prosecution of Sjt. Sambamurti and Sjt. Khadilkar, the proscription of Pandit Sundarlal's volume, the police conduct at Shraddhanand Park and such other incidents that may have escaped my notice cumulatively point in but one direction.

Daylight Robbery

Proscription without trial, without examination, without the author being able to defend himself in any shape or form, of Pandit Sundarlal's learned volume in Hindi is nothing short of daylight robbery by the U.P. Government. These volumes represent years of labour. They were brought out at great expense, and if the proscription is allowed to stand, it means ruin to the author or the publisher whoever may have incurred the expense. The clear statement issued by the publisher shows that the Government was not taken unawares. They knew that the volumes were about to be published, they knew what they were likely to be. And yet they confiscated them without warning and apparently without proper examination thereof. According to the publisher's note they could not have had more than two days to examine the volumes. Surely the author and the public were entitled to know what there was objectionable in them. I write from bitter experience. Even to this day I do not know why my booklets *Hind Swaraj* and adaptation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last* were proscribed.[1] I had no notice given to me. It was only through a friend I came to know that these copies were proscribed. But there is one consola-

tion the public may derive from this daylight robbery. The Government are by such acts providing us with easy methods of civil disobedience should it be necessary for us next year to undertake it on a large scale.

"Navakal" Prosecution

The case against Sjt. Khadilkar of *Navakal* I have headed prosecution. In truth it is persecution. But under a Government run in the teeth of popular opposition, especially when as in our case much of it is suppressed, persecution must be as it is the lot of every plain-spoken journalist. Sjt. Khadilkar has always believed in calling a spade a spade. And he is an effective popular writer. He had paid the price of popularity based on plain speech. I tender him my congratulations. I know that he is a philosopher. He once told me that he often wrote plays to pay the fines he had at times to pay for his journalistic adventures. He was content to run his paper and through it educate public opinion according to his lights, so long as he could do so without running into debts for paying fines. The unconcern with which he was describing his adventures enhanced the respect I always felt for his ability and constancy of purpose and sacrifice for the sake of the country. I wish that he had not thrown away good money in counsel's fees. Law-courts like every other Government institution are designed to protect the Government in time of need. We have had practical experience of this times without number. They are necessarily so. Only we do not realize it when popular liberty and Government run in the same direction. When however popular liberty has to be defended in spite of Government opposition, law-courts are poor guardians thereof. The less we have to do with them the better for us.

Duty of Disaffection

When during the Burma tour I heard that Sjt. Sambamurti was convicted, I thought he must have said something very wicked about the Government to deserve the conviction and the severe sentence. But a perusal of the published judgment in the case which summarizes the seven speeches of Sjt. Sambamurti shows, as the Working Committee properly points out in its resolution, that there is nothing in those speeches which most Congressmen have not repeatedly said from a hundred platforms.

Sjt. Sambamurti was charged under the disaffection Section. But disaffection with Congressmen, indeed with every nationalist, has long been a sacred duty. How shall a Government escape dis-

affection when it continuously acts so as to deserve disaffection? The fact is that if many who use much stronger language than Sjt. Sambamurti are not honoured with convictions, it is because Sjt. Sambamurti was making himself felt, his preaching was proving infectious; whereas with most of us our disaffection is a sterile virtue. If we would deserve the honour that has been given to Sjt. Sambamurti, our disaffection must become as dynamic as Sjt. Sambamurti's was becoming. He had become a tall poppy.

He has set a good example by refusing to be bailed out or to enter upon a defence. Personally I would have certainly made a brief statement not so much for the guidance of the court as for that of the public. The public would for instance want to know whether he was correctly reported or not. But I confess that this is a small matter. We are used to exaggerated and inaccurate reporting. And where a particular act is not only not deplored but defended, what matters it whether it is painted in loud or in subdued colours? His refusal to give a message to the public was characteristic of him. If his conviction was not a sufficient message, no words of his could coin one worth the name.

Young India, 4-4-1929

184. PROHIBITION CAMPAIGN

The following scheme[1] sent by Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari has been adopted by the Working Committee and a committee consisting of Dr. Ansari, Sjts. Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari has been appointed to carry out the work.

Young India, 4-4-1929

[1] For the scheme, *vide* Appendix II.

185. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

SABARMATI,
[*April 4, 1929*][1]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

RECEIVED. WIRE WEIGHT GENERAL CONDITION LABURNUM ROAD BOMBAY WHERE REACHING TOMORROW.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6766

186. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

BOMBAY,
[*April 5, 1929*][2]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

REPORT SEEMS SATISFACTORY. SIXTH SEVENTH HYDERABAD DECCAN AFTERWARDS BEZWADA.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6767

187. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 5, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have sent you a wire about P.[3] He seems to me to be an extremely straightforward man. You need not entertain any suspicion about him. If so, you need not entertain any suspicion about S.[4] either. That S. has been guilty of many lies is a different matter. If, however, he has indulged in immorality, he alone is a party to his sin. I believe that we cannot ask him to leave.

[1] & [2] From the postmark
[3] & [4] The names are being omitted.

No one should talk about him. You should keep him in the office under your own eyes, or give him some work in which he can do no harm. P. himself has requested that S. should be given some other work. P. wants that whenever there is suspicion against him, we should talk plainly to him about it. I think that would be right.

There was a letter from Chhaganlal, which I enclose with this. You may now do about his belongings what you think best. It would be proper to give both the letters to Narandas to read.

I have been given three excellent cows. We are trying to get some more. I hope you have sent Krishnavatar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5396

188. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

April 5, 1929

It was true, Gandhiji began in Hindi, that he was addressing a public meeting in Bombay after so many years. Even this time he was not aware that he would be called upon to address any meeting. He had come to Bombay in response to two telegrams from the B.P.C.C. and the Bombay Youth League. There was a time, he said, in the history of Bombay when it was impossible for him to address a public meeting in such a small place as the one where they had assembled. Even the sands of Chaupati sometimes fell short of their requirements. There was a lot of enthusiasm then among the people. Looking to the national programme which the country had undertaken for the current year, he would at once say that there was greater need now than in the years 1921-22 for all the enthusiasm and energy they could bring to the service of the country.

Speaking about the observance of the National Week, Mahatma Gandhi recalled that it was on the 13th of April that there was Jallianwala Bagh massacre. For all these years since that incident, the whole country was observing the National Week from the 6th to the 13th of April. From Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Dibrugarh to Karachi, people had to take to work again if the resolve of the nation expressed through the Congress was not to be an empty boast.

Referring to the library which was to be opened in honour of the memory of the late Mr. Omar Sobhani, Mahatmaji observed that the services of Omar Sobhani to Bombay were, indeed, matchless. It was only meet and proper

[1] The meeting was held in the compound of the Congress House.

that his memory should be consecrated. Gandhiji then referred to the new premises of the B.P.C.C. which he was soon going to declare open. He humorously remarked that if the Congress could open new office, it could also open a new era of freedom for the country. What was wanted, he added, was self-confidence. Proceeding, he reminded his hearers that the Congress had asked the country to prepare for a vigorous national fight which was to commence at the end of the year 1929. He hoped that during this year the country would carry out the programme which the Congress had laid down. The first and the most important item of the Congress programme, he pointed out, was the use of khaddar and boycott of all foreign cloth. It was a pity, he added, that so many young men and even women who had come to the meeting, had put on foreign dress on their bodies. The bazaar which he witnessed before him was a *videshi* (foreign) bazaar although he was called there to open the khaddar bazaar. . . . He reiterated his conviction that without khadi there would be no swaraj. He attached more importance to khaddar as a principal item of the Congress programme because, he said, it was a thing in which all could participate.

He then appealed to the audience to discard on the spot their foreign caps and other articles of dress.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-4-1929

189. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, HYDERABAD (DECCAN)

April 6, 1929

Gandhiji, seated in a chair on the dais, made a short reply in Urdu, in the course of which he said that he had come to Hyderabad before, but had not asked for money. He would ask for it now in the name of *Daridranarayana*. He pointed out that India was the poorest of the nations and that more than three crores of people were starving every day and asked them to realize what it meant. Speaking about charkha, he said it was a Kamadhenu, giving our necessities. In his opinion Hyderabad State which was endowed with several facilities could help British India by producing khadi in abundance. He was told by Shrimati Sarojini Devi that very superior kind of khadi was produced there and he was very glad of that. He had rarely come across such a fine texture of khadi which was used in the garland presented to him and if that was prepared by the depressed class boys he congratulated them and was very glad of that.

Then he referred to the Hindu-Muslim question in British India and said that the time was coming again when the unity which once was witnessed

[1] Gandhiji then declared open the new office of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and visited the Omar Sobhani Memorial Library.

in the year 1921 was going to be witnessed once again and he asked the audience to help the people of India in achieving it. Referring to the evil of drink, he said that it was a disgrace to the nation that their children were educated out of the money raised by such means. He said conditions were different in Hyderabad and asked them to make a representation to His Exalted Highness, the Nizam, and see that a new departure was made in this respect and set an example to British India. He congratulated the Nizam for abolishing cow-slaughter and thus taking a big step forward in Hindu-Muslim unity. Lastly, he touched upon the question of the depressed classes and said that the curse of untouchability had no sanction of the Shastras and asked the Hindus to see that it was eradicated from their society.

The Hindu, 8-4-1929

190. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[Before *April 7, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I forgot to write to you about Chhaganlal Gandhi. Perhaps you do not know that the sum which he has handed over contains a part that is of the nature of stolen money. It represents the value of some jewellery and interest. I would consider it wrong to return this sum, nor has any of us the right to do so. The money should be taken to have been spent. As a trust, we have a right to accept a donation. In order to return a donation, we should have some moral or legal basis. In this case we have neither. We can give a pension to Chhaganlal. It may even be our duty to do so. We should find out what Chhaganlal intends to do and what he wishes. I wrote to him last week.

He knows that we shall not let him starve. Besides, we have the responsibility of supporting Kashi.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I return with this Sheth Govinddas's letter. Can we send anyone there just now? In the last resort, there is Sitla Sahai. Think over the matter. What has been your experience of Surajbhan in this regard?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5425

[1] From the reference to Chhaganlal Gandhi's lapse, it appears this was written before the following item.

191. MY SHAME AND SORROW[1]

I have been greatly exercised in my mind as to whether or not to write on this topic. But after fullest consideration I have come to the conclusion that not to write would constitute a grave dereliction of duty. Many friends look upon the Satyagraha Ashram, the present Udyoga Mandir, as a sacred institution and send donations on the death of dear ones in respect of its manifold activities which I have thankfully accepted.

Recently some lapses of a serious character have been brought to light on the part of some members of this institution. I have freely spoken about them to the inmates of the Mandir at prayer times. But I do not consider this publicity sufficient. My relations with the readers of *Navajivan* are not commercial, but have a strictly moral base. They are naturally founded on the assumed purity of myself and the institution. I have time and again written on the sin of secrecy. Personally I have no secrets. It is, therefore, necessary for me to take the reader into my confidence. If he has assumed me and the institution to be pure it is but meet that he should know our impurity also.

Chhaganlal Gandhi, elder brother of the late Maganlal Gandhi, is a cousin of mine. He has been like a son to me and was brought up by me under my care from his youth. He has been discovered to be engaged in a series of petty larcenies over a number of years. I should not have felt the aberration so much if the repentance had been voluntary, but as it was the thing was detected quite accidentally and brought to light by a namesake, the vigilant Secretary of the Mandir. Indeed Chhaganlal Gandhi even made an unsuccessful attempt to conceal the guilt. He is now apparently consumed with remorse and is shedding bitter tears. He has, further, of his own accord left the Mandir, but I have hopes that he will one day return to the Mandir completely purified and the Mandir will then welcome him back to its fold with open arms. His larcenies seem to have been of a very trivial character involving very inconsiderable sums of money on the whole. I am inclined to treat the lapse in the nature of a disease. So far as one can see these thefts have not meant any pecuniary loss to the Mandir.

[1] The Gujarati original of which this is a translation was published in *Navajivan*, 7-4-1929.

Chhaganlal Gandhi had laid up an amount of about ten thousand from his savings. I do not wish here to enter into the history of these savings. This amount he made over to the Mandir only a few months ago at my suggestion not from any impulse of generosity but from a sense of the duty pointed out. Private possession of wealth being inconsistent with principles of the Mandir, this ownership of not an inconsiderable sum of money jarred on me and I intimated to him accordingly. After holding consultations with his wife and two sons, none of whom desired its use for their sakes, Chhaganlal made it over unconditionally to the Udyoga Mandir. So far as I am aware Chhaganlal at present owns no property whatever except his share in the ancestral property. When I think of Chhaganlal Gandhi's record of thirty years of service and his artlessness and simplicity on the one hand and these lapses on the other, I am perplexed and take refuge in the reflection that the working of the Law of Karma is inscrutable. This is but one chapter of the story of my shame and sorrow.

Now for the second chapter. I have lavished unstinted praise on Kasturbai (Mrs. Gandhi) in my *Autobiography*. She has stood by me in the changes of my life. I believe hers to have been an immaculate life. It is true that her renunciation has not been based on an intelligent appreciation of the fundamentals of life, but from a blind wifely devotion. At any rate she has never hindered me in my progress towards my ideals. By her exemplary care and nursing during my illness she has easily commanded a patient's gratitude. I have spared her no ordeals. She has been a tower of strength to me in my self-imposed vow of *brahmacharya*. But the white surface of these virtues is not without the glaringly dark spots. Although impelled by her sense of wifely devotion she has renounced so far as the world knows earthly possessions, longing for them has persisted. As a result, about a year or so ago she had laid up a sum of about a couple of hundred rupees for her own use out of the small sums presented to her by various people on different occasions. The rule of the Mandir, however, is that even such personal presents may not be kept for private use. Her action, therefore, amounted to theft. Fortunately for her and the Mandir, thieves broke into her room about two years ago. This incident resulted in the discovery of the foregoing misappropriation. For a moment her remorse appeared to be genuine. Events have proved, however, that it was only momentary. Evidently it did not root out the desire for possession. Recently some unknown visitors to the Mandir brought

her a sum of four rupees. Instead of handing over this sum, according to the Mandir rules, to the Secretary she kept it with her. A tried inmate of the Mandir was present when the donation was made. It was his obvious duty to put Kasturbai on her guard; but impelled by a false sense of courtesy he remained instead a helpless witness of the wrong. After Chhaganlal's episode the members of the Udyoga Mandir became suddenly vigilant.

The witness of Kasturbai's lapse informed Chhaganlal Joshi about it. Joshi courageously, though in fear and trembling, went to Kasturbai and demanded the money. Kasturbai felt the humiliation and quickly returned four rupees and promised never to repeat the offence. I believe her remorse to be genuine. She has agreed to withdraw herself from the institution should any other previous aberration be discovered against her or in case she should lapse into such conduct again. Her penitence has been accepted by Udyoga Mandir and she will remain there just as before and accompany me in my tours.

Now for the third chapter. Three years ago a widow was living in the Ashram. All believed her to be pure. About the same time a young man brought up in an orphanage too was living in the Ashram. His conduct appeared to be correct. He was at that time unmarried. He seduced the widow. This is comparatively old history now. But the lapse was discovered only recently. That such immorality should have occurred in the institution that imposes *brahmacharya* on its inmates is a serious tragedy. Alas for the Mandir!

If those who have believed in me and the Mandir desert us after these revelations it will serve two purposes at a stroke. Both they and myself will be extricated from the false position and I would welcome the relief and the lightening of my burden it will bring me. If all good men in the Mandir left it in disgust the problem would again be readily solved. Equally handy would the solution be if all bad men left the Mandir. Lastly, if I could bring myself to flee from the Mandir that too would be a solution. But life's riddles are not solved quite so easily. None of these things will happen. Nature's processes work mysteriously.

I hold the manifestation of the corruption in the Mandir to be merely the reflection of the wrong in myself. Nothing has been further from my thoughts in writing the above lines than to arrogate to myself superior virtue. On the contrary, I sincerely believe that the impurity of my associates is but the manifestation of the hidden wrong within me. I have never claimed perfection for myself. Who knows my aberrations in the realm of thought

have reacted on the environment round me. The epithet of "Mahatma" has always galled me and now it almost sounds to me like a term of abuse.

But what am I to do? Should I flee or commit suicide or embark on an endless fast or immure myself alive in the Mandir or refuse to handle public finance or public duty? I can do none of these things mechanically. I must wait for the voice within. I am an incorrigible optimist. I have the hope of attaining swaraj even through the purification of the Mandir. But I must first try, discover and remove my own shortcomings. Therefore in spite of the full knowledge of the grave shortcomings and failures of the Udyoga Mandir, I still live on the hope that it will one day justify its existence and reconvert itself into the Satyagraha Ashram.

It seems to me therefore that for the present I must go on with it, even though I have to proclaim its shortcomings to the world again and again. An activity commenced in God's name may be given up only at His bidding. And when He wishes this activity of mine to be brought to a close He will surely prompt society to hound me out of its pale and I hug to myself the hope that even in that dread hour of retribution I shall still have power to declare my faith in Him. Let me once more reiterate my opinion about the Mandir. Imperfect as it always has been, full of corruption as it has been discovered to be, this institution is my best creation. I hope to see God through its aid. I wish to be judged by the measure of its soundness. Revelations put me on my guard; they make me search within; they humble me. But they do not shake my faith in it. This may be a gross delusion on my part. If so I can say with the immortal Tulsidas that even as one who sees silver in the mother of pearl or water in mirage till his ignorance is dispelled so will my delusion be a reality to me till the eyes of my understanding are opened.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1929

192. "*JODANIKOSH*"[1]

The Gujarat Vidyapith has brought out this week a standard dictionary of the Gujarati language. It is, as its name *Jodanikosh* suggests, a dictionary of spellings of words. This is the first dictionary of its kind. There are a few dictionaries in Gujarati, but they have not attempted to fix the spellings of words in keeping with any accepted standard. A language which has no fixed spellings for its words is in the same position as a man without a nose. I have always felt, therefore, the want of a standard dictionary in Gujarati. The number of readers of the *Navajivan* is by no means small. Similarly, there are many who lean upon the Gujarat Vidyapith for the right guidance in linguistic and literary matters. How, then, can they do without a standard dictionary? This dictionary has been prepared and brought out to meet their needs.

It may be asked: How is one to accept that the spellings given in this dictionary are correct while those in others are not? The answer is that it is not a question of deciding which spellings are correct and which are not. The principle followed in the compilation of this dictionary is that the spellings adopted by those who have a good knowledge of Gujarati and who try to write grammatically correct Gujarati be accepted as correct.

All those who have a love of the Gujarati language, who want to write correct Gujarati, and who care to adopt those spellings of words which are used by numberless Gujaratis taking part in the national movement, will do well to have a copy of this dictionary.

We should be more ashamed of committing mistakes of spellings in our mother tongue than we are of committing them in English. After the publication of this dictionary now no one has the right to do as his fancy dictates in the matter of spelling. I recommend to those whose knowledge of Gujarati is as incomplete as mine to use this dictionary in dealing with their correspondence.

This dictionary contains 43,743 words. It is not necessary for me to write about how it came to be written or the principles which it has followed in fixing the spelling of words. Let the readers know these details from the book itself. The well-to-do

[1] The Gujarati original of which this is a translation was published in *Navajivan*, 7-4-1929.

who are interested in language should give a copy of this dictionary to their business executives and ask them to write their Gujarati with its help.

The publishers, not being confident of the sort of reception the book will get from the reading public, have brought out the first edition only of 500 copies. I hope that this number will not suffice even for the subscribers of *Navajivan*. The cost price for a copy comes to three rupees and twelve annas. The sale price, however, has been fixed at three rupees only. It is well bound and has 373 pages. I am sure that the Gujarati-loving Gujaratis will soon buy up all copies and thus dispel the doubts of the publishers and show their appreciation of the labour done by the compilers.

The Problems of Education, pp. 170-1

193. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
April 7, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I had your letter in Bombay. Your letter sent to Bezwada has been redirected here at Hyderabad which I leave this evening.

Your last letter is disturbing. You continue to get fever periodically. Do not be anxious about it, but do not disregard it. If you cannot keep your health there, you must take a change. It might be good to take quinine for some days. Lemons you should send for from Patna or Calcutta wherever they are to be had. I hope you are using mosquito-net regularly. If oil disagrees, do not take it. If you cannot get good ghee, I can send it to you. In short, you should hold your body in trust and take whatever may be needed for it.

Yes, for the soft spindles you have no advocate in Gujarat barring me. But my advocacy is based on ignorance. I advocate it because I like it.

Visitors waiting to see me.

I am under Mrs. Naidu's roof.

Love.

BAPU

[1] Permanent address

[PS.]

Ba, Prabhavati, Imamsaheb, Pyarelal and Subbiah are with me. Vallabhbhai wanted Mahadev.

From the original: C.W. 5358. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9414

194. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

April 7, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You must have got the letter[1] which I wrote to you from Bombay. I am writing this from Hyderabad. Kishorelal has advised H.[2] to see S.[3] He will, therefore, do so. He asked my permission and I have given it. You should not feel nervous about this affair. Remain calm. We should be careful and see that no injustice is done by us. There will be no harm if we are deceived, but it will certainly be wrong if we do injustice to anyone. If some people persist in their sins despite our vigilance, we may remain unconcerned by that because we shall not be responsible for their sins. I have no time to elaborate this, however. I must run now. Waman Naik is sitting before me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5397

195. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[4]
April 8, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I sent you a letter yesterday from Hyderabad (Deccan). I am nearing Bezwada, but still away from it. We are in a little village without a telegraphic office. The post from Bezwada has been brought here. So I have two letters from you, 2nd and 3rd. If you cannot be radically cured, you must take a change. You can go to a seaside or to a hillside.

[1] *Vide* pp. 205-6.
[2] & [3] The names are being omitted here.
[4] Permanent address

If you can hold out till June, you might perhaps go with me to Almora. So far as I am aware, there is to be an Almora programme in June. You will have to travel 2nd class though. I should dread to put you in a 3rd-class compartment in your weak state. But this is all building castles in the air. The immediate thing is for you to get well. To spend lavishly on fruit is real economy. You cannot keep good health without fresh fruit. Lemons are the prince among fruits. Dr. Rajabali told me one lemon was equal to six oranges. I can well believe it. But you must have all the fruit you fancy. Raw green leaf is good, but it must be eaten sparingly, not more than one *tola* at a time and then too only if it does not upset the system. Perhaps the oil too does not agree with you. Your primary concern is not to discover a cheap diet, but it is to be able to live in villages without needing a yearly exodus to the hills. Your attention must, therefore, be concentrated on making your experiment a success, no matter how much it costs you to live. I am going to wire to you as soon as I am at a wiring station.[1] How nice it is to be without a wiring office at either end! I know that I need not wire. If I was really poor, I could not wire. If I was not impatient and had full trust in God, I should not wire. But I am not going to act mechanically. When that faith comes, I shall cease to think of wiring. It is enough for the time being that I am not fretting, even though I get letters about your illness and though I have no telegraph office here.

I seem to be flourishing on my diet, 3rd-class travelling and continuous engagements. I wonder myself that I have not yet collapsed. Of course, I snatch plenty of rest and the happy knack of sleeping at will saves me. Truth is that God saves me so long as He wants me in this body. The moment His wants are satisfied, no precautions on my part will save me.

Of course, you will locate Bezwada on the map. There are five or six districts to cover.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5359. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9415

[1] *Vide* p. 218.

196. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

April 8, 1929

SISTERS,

I cannot banish from my mind the memory of the incidents that took place in the Udyoga Mandir. I see lack of courage in all of them. Where there is no courage there can never be truth. To do a wrong thing is sin, but to try to hide it is a greater sin. If a person sincerely admits his sin, it is washed off and he can return to the path of right. But he who hides his misdeed out of a false sense of shame sinks deeper into the pit. We have seen this to be true in every case, and hence I request you all to avoid a false sense of shame. If any of you, knowingly or unknowingly, does a wrong thing, she should confess it at once and resolve in her mind not to do a similar thing again.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–1: Ashramni Behnone, p. 60

197. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [*April 8, 1929*]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We were to reach Bezwada today, but Venkatappayya and his co-workers decided on some other plan. At three o'clock at night, they got me down at a place three stations this side of Bezwada and immediately drove me to a zamindar's village 20 miles away from the station. It is nine in the morning just now. On the way, there was a sandy river-bed about a mile wide through which buffaloes were made to pull the car. I was much tired and so went to sleep in the car. I wrote a letter to you from Hyderabad too. You must have got it.

S.'s[1] affair is becoming more complicated. Do not lose your patience. Do not get nervous. Stop others from talking about the matter. We shall learn from all these incidents what love is.

[1] The name is being omitted.

We shall learn the difference between ignorant attachment and love and, in the process, shall purify ourselves too.

Since there is no letter from you, I don't write about anything else. You will get a draft from Waman Naik from Hyderabad; keep that also in the suspense account. In this amount, too, the sums earmarked will be small.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5561

198. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

BEZWADA,
April 9, 1929

MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT
MADHUBANI

GOT LETTERS FOURTH FIFTH. ALSO WIRE ON ARRIVAL. THANK GOD. MUST PROCURE LEMON MILK ANY COST. SUGGEST SIX GRAINS TWO DOSES QUININE THREE GRAINS EACH WITH SODA LEMON. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5360. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9416

199. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

BEZWADA,
April 9, 1929

IMPORTANCE,
CALCUTTA

GLAD YOU BROKE FAST. CONTINUE ORANGE JUICE GRAPE JUICE THREE DAYS. DILUTE SAME WITH WATER. DRINK PLENTY BOILED WATER COLD OR HOT WITH OR WITHOUT LEMON JUICE AND SALT OR HONEY. USE RAISED BEDSTEAD INSTEAD SLEEPING FLOOR. TAKE WEIGHT DAILY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6770

200. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,[1]
April 9, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I wrote to you yesterday. I have wired today a fairly full thing. I am happy you are out of the wood just now. But these attacks are a warning you may not ignore.

Yes, I did get the translation of Rolland's letter, in Ahmedabad I think, certainly not in Calcutta. I hope to send you a reply for despatch with translation.

You will not put an undue strain on your body or your nerves.

I am still unable to give you a settled programme. The Reception Committee is still undecided as to the places to which it will take me. The headquarters, therefore, remain Bezwada.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You missed the fast on 6th[2] because of your fever. I missed it bceause of my wretched preoccupation, though I had thought of it before. The rush is bad. This forgetfulness is a bad symptom.

From the original: C.W. 5361. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9417

201. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BEZWADA,
April 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You must have received the post I sent yesterday. On arriving here, I got two letters from you. It is not true that we have lost our capital. We have lost that part of it which was not genuine, why be grieved or pained by that? Our burden has become the lighter for that loss. We will certainly go on working. If only we can say that these people were sinful once, that would be profit enough to us. But my fear is that all the sin has not come

[1] Permanent address
[2] First day of the National Week, observed since 1919

out, and that there is no assurance that they will not sin again. Who can give such an assurance? All that we can do is to strive ceaselessly and get rid of impurity whenever we see any. We will go on serving people as long as they trust us. Indeed, the affair will make no difference to people's love for us. Perhaps they will be more generous. We will endure whatever happens.

You must have got my letter about S.[1] I cannot say definitely that she is innocent. I have no doubt about P.[2] I cannot say, however, if S. has cherished lustful thoughts. But we cannot suspect her in this fashion. We should assume the truth of what she says. She will certainly not work in the goshala. But now that H.[3] has come, our burden will be lighter.

Let Chhotelal go to Kashmir if he wants to. He will become calm only when he goes somewhere.

You need not feel unhappy on account of Ba. You have rendered a service to the Ashram by going courageously to her, have shown yourself to be a brave man and done your duty as a son. As for Ba, she has been saved from error.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I send with this a beautiful letter from Prabhudas. Show it to all. Send it to Kakasaheb.

BAPU

[PPS.]

You must have sent to Anandshankerbhai Thadani's typed book.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5399

202. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 9, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I was about to send you a wire asking you to give up your fast when I got your telegram. It is well that you have given it up. You must have received my wire in which I have explained the matter in detail. I hope you are taking complete rest. I have asked you to send me a wire every day. If you patiently carry out my instructions, you will regain your strength and weight.

[1], [2] & [3] The names are omitted in the source.

I wrote to you yesterday giving detailed instructions.[1] The address for the present should be Bezwada.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6769

203. SPEECH AT NANDIGAMA

April 9, 1929

Mahatmaji said that he was very glad for the calmness prevailing there from 1920 onwards. His idea was that swaraj was peace of mind and peace with all the people. It was very difficult to reform the people of big cities but there were greater opportunities in the villages where he saw dirt and desolation. Could not the people who were responsible for the clean and healthy life of these villages devote their attention to this task? He hoped—and he believed that his hope would not be in vain—the hundreds of youths who had gathered there that day before him would come forward to help in this direction.

In your place cotton is available and in your addresses you said that all should wear khaddar. If only you did so I should be very glad indeed. Here I see some sisters, and a few of them are wearing khadi. Why only a few? Women also should take part in the attainment of swaraj and self-purification like the men. I do not speak of swaraj but of *Ramarajya*. If there is no Sita there is no *Ramarajya*. If you want *Ramarajya* all of you should become Sitas. History says that Sita wore khaddar and used only national things. It is on account of that purity that Ravana could not even touch Sita. Sita entered fire, but was safe. Hindu ladies can become so pure if they try.

Today drinking is a bad habit. The drunkard cannot distinguish who is his mother and who is his wife. If you want purification, you must give up drinking. You know of course that untouchability should be removed in swaraj.

You have presented me Rs. 1,170. I know you can pay more. In Andhra Desha men wear jewels like women. Ladies are afraid of coming out to see me, because when they come I look at their jewellery. I have taken their jewellery. When crores of people are starving there is no room for others to wear jewellery. They must give away all jewellery to *Daridranarayana*.

The Hindu, 10-4-1929

[1] This letter is not available.

204. *TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR*

BEZWADA,
[*April 10, 1929*][1]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

MAY TAKE GOAT'S MILK DILUTED WITH WATER FOUR OUNCES EACH TIME NOT MORE THAN THRICE. OMIT GRAPE FRUIT TILL SUNDAY UNLESS ABSOLUTELY SURE OF DIGESTING IT WELL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6771

205. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

April 10, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter. As there is no wire I take it that the slight increase was a passing phase only. Beware of over-strain. I am still keeping well.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5362. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9418

206. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

April 10, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter of the 7th. You may certainly reduce the expenditure in the Mandir wherever you think proper. You need not force yourself to close any department. It should be enough if we follow it as a fixed policy that we will not run any department by borrowing money. When friends stop their aid, the departments will automatically close down. We need not get

[1] From the postmark

frightened because the evil among us has been exposed; we should only remain vigilant. I feel lighter after writing the article[1] in *Navajivan*. I don't think it possible just now to reduce the scope of our activities. Maybe incidents like the one about M.[2] or about C.[3] will happen again. Even at that time, we will not lose courage. It is enough if you remain vigilant to see that such incidents do not occur again. There should be a voucher for every pie spent. Is it not our good fortune that C. has not acted shamelessly and run away with the money? He has returned more than he had stolen. M. had not abandoned all shame. He may even lead a pure life now. About S.[4] we can say nothing. Everything will be all right if we take no interest in [others'] sins.

We cannot trouble Vinoba or Kakasaheb in this matter. All that you can do is to insist on my presence. I am trying from right now to arrange the programme so that I may spend July, and probably August too, there. Do not lose heart. Go on doing courageously what you can.

If Jayakaran leaves against your wishes, let him. Don't give him any help if you do not think it proper to do so.

I had a letter from Ratilal and Champa. I send it with this for you to read. Read my reply to it and pass it on to them. Carry out what I have stated in my letter. If you can please them by offering a little more, do so. You can spend up to Rs. 200 a month. If, however, we give as much every month, they will save nothing for travelling expenses, etc.

Yogendrababu may stay there as long as he desires; permit him to leave whenever he wishes to do so. The main object is to teach his wife to live a little freely. She will easily learn that in the Ashram.

Has the money received from Burma been handed over to Shankerlal?

I trust you are taking proper care of your health. Consume as much milk and ghee as may be necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5400

[1] *Vide* pp. 209-12.
[2], [3] & [4] The names are being omitted.

207. LETTER TO RADHABEHN GANDHI

April 10, 1929

CHI. RADHIKA,

I have been worrying about your health. You should observe how your body works and put it right. In no case should you work beyond your strength. I hope your mind is at peace. Does Keshu write to you regularly? He is known to be rather lazy in writing letters.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8675. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhari

208. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BEZWADA

April 10, 1929

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I request you to keep silence. I thank you all, and those who have presented me with addresses. All the addressess have been written in vernacular for which I congratulate you. I congratulate you because it is equivalent to Hindi, the Rashtra Bhasha of India. I am glad that you permitted me to accept the addresses as read. The affection I owe to Andhra Desha is supreme. I am not amazed at your humility but on the other hand delighted. I would like to point out a better way of presenting an address. I stand before you as the representative of the poor and the downtrodden. When I have come to you as the representative of the poor I feel pained at the expenditure involved in the preparation of addresses. It would indeed be more delightful if they were manuscript addresses or palm-leaf addresses. Your affection is too sincere towards me and I feel I am unable to bear it. I have followed a translation of the address and I am afraid there is a good deal of flattery and little of what your chief needs are from which you are suffering. I would like to have known your circumstances, how you live and what relief is given to you by those who can give it.

This is the National Week of which four days have run out. This week is one of self-purification and national effort. Till

the 15th instant we have to live up to a high level of national enthusiasm. The 13th of April is a day of national reminder to us of General Dyer's act. We want now a sense of wisdom and the strength of experience. The Congress had commanded you to do your bit by the country. Boycott of foreign cloth and wearing of khaddar are the two biddings of the Congress and there is nothing more that any Indian could do now. It has given an opportunity for all Indians to participate in the national awakening. It is easy for everyone to accept khaddar. If Andhra Desha stands and works for khaddar, you will have don the greatest national service. For the first time in 1921, the national programme laid down here at Bezwada had focussed the attention of the whole country and Bezwada must feel proud of it. I ask you now, what have you done since 1921? You have courage and wisdom. But you lack in unity. You have not learnt to co-operate and work. I request you to work unitedly, propagate khaddar and set yourselves against foreign cloth.

At this juncture, Christians, Hindus, Parsis and Mahommedans must join hands. It is not necessary for me to say much on the subject. There is a lot of bad blood in North India between Hindus and Mahommedans. The murder of Mahasaya Rajpal has accentuated the situation. One dastardly act of a Moslem has set the Hindus against Mahommedans. As a Hindu, I pray you not to have any bad feelings towards Moslems. By murdering him he, the man who did it, has neither benefited himself nor Islam. In the past, too, such things have occurred. Whenever the mind is full of vice and passion, there will be a manifestation of it. Revengeful spirit must be banished from our minds.

In the Assembly also, a like crime of a ghastly nature has been committed. Swaraj has receded a step by this crime. The two youths involved in the bomb outrage have set back the progress of our national movement. The Congress members must cleanse themselves from the taint of violence. These two mad youngsters of Delhi are very much like the murderer of Rajpal. We need not be discouraged by these blunders. During this week, it is our duty to purify ourselves. I feel sorry that Mr. Sambamurti is not with us and I am also reminded now of Andhra Ratna D. Gopalkrishniah who is no more. Whether our colleagues stay with us or are severed from us, the burden of carrying on of what they left is still on us. The instructions of Congress about khaddar and drink must be carried out. In one of the addresses, it was pointed out that the Government was not able to do anything despite our

waiting and watching. Prayers and petitions to Government do not help us. Self-reliance must be our prop and not any aid from Government. For that purpose we need volunteers trained in non-violence.

There is again the problem of untouchability. Compared to towns, the obstacles in villages are many and potent. Our young men must work in the villages to remove untouchability. Their life of purity in the villages will be an example to the villagers to follow. You have given me Rs. 2,500 for khaddar but it is very little. Bezwada is capable of giving more. I will wind up today's proceedings by discharging the pleasant functions entrusted to me. I have great pleasure in now unveiling Sri Krishna Deva Raya's portrait. Next I associate myself with the pleasure of declaring the high level reservoir open. I have seen it and I thank the Municipality for sparing me the task of going to the reservoir to open it. I feel now unable to perform functions which I used to do five or ten years ago. I can now do only a fraction of that work and I am grateful that the Municipal Council has excused my inability and absence. The gift of water facilities to the people at large is considered a virtuous act according to our Hindu scriptures. In a hot country like this a reservoir is essential and I trust the poor of the city will be first served with water. I thank you for patiently listening to me and it gives me pleasure to note that Hindi *prachar* is more or less being efficiently done in these parts. There is however a great need for its propagation. It must so progress that a Hindi speech need not be translated to you hereafter. I hope you will now give the best of your mite to the Khadi Fund. I am in the practice of auctioning the addresses and jewels I receive. At Nuzvid I was presented with three addresses and when auctioned they fetched me Rs. 60. I thank you once again.

A third duty lying undischarged still rests on me and I have pleasure in declaring the industrial house for disabled poor open.

The Hindu, 11-4-1929

209. DECK PASSENGERS

Resumption of travelling third class by rail and deck on sea is reviving old experiences in circumstances somewhat different from the old. When no one or few people knew me, I could easily be lost in the crowd and share its trials and its joys to the full. Now I am a distinguished untouchable. They must make room for me and give me facilities which they will not give to any other fellow-passenger. Consequently when I travelled as a deck passenger on board the s.s. *Aronda* on my way to Burma, I was isolated from the rest of my fellows. On the outward voyage the steamship authorities too had conspired with the passengers in the scheme of isolation. They had set apart a portion of the second saloon deck for me and insisted on my use of the second saloon latrines. I was therefore able to see little of the inconveniences of the deck passengers. On the return voyage I happened to have the same boat but the steamship authorities had allowed things to take their natural course and I found myself in the midst of the deck passengers. Though, therefore, I suffered from the disabilities of mahatmaship, I was able fairly to share their trials. And I found that as in railway carriages so in steamships, there was not much difference between the condition of travelling in 1915 and 1929 so far as the lowest class travelling is concerned. There was the same squalor, the same indifference, the same overcrowding, the same stenches and the same din and noise as before. I observed on the *Aronda* that the space reserved for the passengers was encroached upon by motor-cars, fowl and cattle. I felt keenly this criminal disregard of the welfare and the feelings of human cargo. Indeed it seemed to me that the other cargo both animate and inanimate claimed greater attention inasmuch as negligence in respect thereof by the steamship authorities might involve them in financial loss. The latrines were filthy beyond description. The sorest trial for me was in reaching the latrines to wade through a corridor reeking with urine and on reaching there to find that I could not lock even the half door of the latrine.

As however I was unable owing to my foregoing disability to make an inspection myself I asked one of my companions to make a diligent inspection of the whole of the deck accommodation and draw up a brief report of such inspection. I reproduce the report below:

There is deck accommodation on board the s.s. *Aronda* for about 1,500 passengers though in the busy season this limitation is overlooked. There are for the use of these 1,500 passengers two tiny bath-rooms and twelve latrines in sets of 4 for men and 2 bath-rooms and 8 latrines for women. This gives an average of one latrine to 75 passengers and one bath-room to 375 passengers.

There is only a sea-water tap in the bath-rooms, but no fresh water tap, nor any facility whatever for keeping the clothes in a dry place while one is bathing. Either the bath-rooms have no latches or the latter are out of repair. One of the bath-rooms is also used partly as a urinal and probably is not intended to be shut at all. Its door is permanently fastened with a string to a nail on the wall to prevent it from banging when the ship rolls. The space used as urinal is open to view and is not curtained from the rest of the bath-room by any partition.

The latches of the latrines are in the same condition of disrepair as those of the bath-rooms. The construction of the latrines leaves much to be desired. There is a sort of running corridor in front of each set of latrines through which the passage to the bath-room also lies. Dirty water and urine from the latrines flow into this corridor, and owing to faulty drainage, instead of discharging itself through the drain, the foul water continues to roll to and fro on the floor with the rolling of the ship.

The twin or the lowermost deck is nothing better than a black hole. It is dark and dingy and stuffy and hot to the point of suffocation. Electric lights have to be kept burning for the most part. There is no direct access to the sea air. The only ventilation is through a couple of air chimneys and a square hole in the ceiling opening on the main deck. There are no refuse bins or receptacles for the rubbish. So the passengers spit, squirt their betel-nut chew and throw orange peels and such rubbish just on the floor. At best this deck is fit only to be used as a cattle-hold instead of accommodating the human cargo that it does.

The forepart of the main deck is sometimes partly used — as was the case last time when we voyaged from Calcutta to Rangoon — as a cattle-hold; the space used by the cattle being separated from the passengers just by a trellised partition. Similarly at the stern end of the shade deck there is a cage where sheep, goats, ducks and poultry are kept. It is foul and stinking beyond description, so much so that it is next to impossible to stand anywhere near it.

There seems to be no hospital arrangement for the third-class passengers on board this boat. Nor is there any special accommodation provided for patients from among third-class passengers in case of casual illness or an epidemic outbreak.

The s.s. *Aronda* is owned by one of the biggest steamship companies in the world. It has therefore ample means at its disposal to make deck accommodation decent and progressively comfortable, if only it has the will. I was able to observe the progressive changes in the first saloon and second saloon accommodation, though obviously I could not carefully examine this accommodation. The changes obtruded themselves on my attention. There is no reason why deck passengers who are really more paying customers than saloon passengers should not have reasonable accommodation and reasonable comforts. I was told by the passengers that during that part of the year the voyage was tolerable for deck passengers but that during the rainy season when the upper deck was almost useless those passengers suffered almost indescribable hardships, most of them fell ill and some even lost their lives as a result of hardships suffered during the voyage. This is wrong for any steamship company; it is doubly wrong for a rich and world-renowned corporation like the combine of P.&O. and B.I.S.N. Companies. The owners and managers should know that day after day the number of intelligent and educated passengers travelling by the deck is increasing. It behoves the Company to anticipate their wants and reasonable desires.[1]

Young India, 11-4-1929

210. PARIAH DOGS

A manager of a U.P. high school writes:

> I would like your opinion in a matter of public interest. I mean the killing of stray dogs by municipalities. The harm that these dogs, especially the diseased ones, do to man is distressing, and a remedy to get rid of them, one way or the other, is highly solicited. I refer the point to you as people are prone to treat it as a question involving *himsa*.

To kill these dogs does, in my opinion, amount to *himsa*, but I believe it to be inevitable, if we are to escape much greater *himsa*. Every dog should be owned and a collar attached to it. I should suggest a dog licence. Every unlicenced dog should be caught by the police and immediately handed to the Mahajan if they have adequate provision for the maintenance of these dogs and would submit to municipal supervision as to the adequacy of such provi-

[1] For the Company's reply and Gandhiji's comments on it, *vide* pp. 284-6 and 322-4.

sion. Failing such provision, all stray dogs should be shot. This in my opinion is the most humanitarian method of dealing with the dog nuisance which everybody feels but nobody cares or dares to tackle. This *laissez faire* is quite in keeping with the atmosphere of general public indifference. But such indifference is itself *himsa*, and a votary of ahimsa cannot afford to neglect or shirk questions, be they ever so trifling, if these demand a solution in terms of ahimsa. We should arrive at a proper understanding of the great doctrine only by boldly facing them even at the risk of committing serious blunders.[1]

Young India, 11-4-1929

211. PROHIBITION IN THE ASSEMBLY

It is a healthy sign that the members of the Legislative Assembly are giving attention to total prohibition. The instance I have in mind is that of Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas. I take the following interesting extract from his speech on the motion to consider the Finance Bill for the current year.[2]

Young India, 11-4-1929

212. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

BEZWADA,
[*April 11, 1929*][3]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

DESCRIPTION SIGNIFIES OVEREATING. NOW TAKE ONLY DILUTED FRUIT JUICES NO PULP NO MILK TWO DAYS. CONSULT PHYSICIAN IF NECESSARY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6772

[1] On the question of stray dogs, *vide* also Vols. XXXI and XXXII, under the series "Is This Humanity?".

[2] In his speech, not reproduced here, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas had strongly appealed to the Finance Member to introduce prohibition in India.

[3] From the postmark

213. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. There is no need for the people there to meet and discuss what to do now. If you meet again and again, you will talk about one thing every time. You will say that we are unworthy and disperse, and all that will remain in the end is despair. It would be all right if you meet to pass a resolution to solve a particular difficulty, but really speaking there is no need even to pass a resolution. A soldier's only duty is to go on doing his work without looking up and devise measures to meet any difficulty that may arise. All of us are soldiers fighting immorality. We have done what was necessary. We brought out the evil. We made two rules. Everyone is examining himself or herself. This is enough. Think over what I have said in my article on the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* in *Navajivan*.[1] We should not think about sense-pleasures either with interest or with repulsion. That is non-co-operation. So long as I am alive, have consciousness, none of you will exercise more freedom than you do at present. Whenever, therefore, you can act without consulting me, you should. When necessary, you may certainly consult me. Do not conceal anything out of pity for me.

I see one thing of course. The thought that I myself tolerate evil pains me. There is no one here just now who knows the *Gita*. The persons who take it up and read it are Pyarelal, Subbiah and Prabhavati. I make them read it by turns. I feel sorry that in my eyes all the three have failed. Subbiah is on leave at present. Prabhavati's deficiency is pardonable. But what about Pyarelal and Subbiah? They have been living with me for years. I am a lover of the *Gita* and they are among those dearest to me. And yet I never took any interest in their reading the *Gita* or spinning. How, then, can I blame them if they did not, either? I would not pass Pyarelal's English if it was bad. I am now forced to listen to his pronunciation of the words in the *Gita* and feel miserable within. He certainly does not spin every day. But, then, do I make him spin? I merely give a lecture on the subject and do no more. The Ashram is my most important creation, but I always remain away from it. I see, thus, that I am myself untruthful in my con-

[1] *Vide* pp. 245-6.

duct. Is it strange, then, that there should be theft and immorality in the Ashram?

Hence, it is more necessary that I should think than that any of you should. But what shall I gain by indulging in self-condemnation? I believe that I have the capacity to see my weaknesses in their proper measure, and I strive to overcome them.

My aim behind this self-condemnation is this:

(1) To pay special attention to improving people's pronunciation of the words in the *Gita* and see that they understand the meaning of the verses.

(2) To see that everyone scrupulously performs the spinning *yajna*.

(3) To look after the kitchen carefully.

These three activities are of general concern and none of us can escape them. Everyone cannot join in the goshala work, and all do not engage in agriculture. But all must concern themselves with the three things mentioned above. That is why I have laid stress on them. If untruth does not enter these activities, we still shall be saved. If we remain sincere in them, that will have an effect on all the other aspects of our work.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5401

214. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 11, 1929

BHAI MADHAVJI,

I have your wire. It has alarmed me. Yesterday's telegram also had alarmed me. You started taking milk much too early. As for grape fruit, a person who has been fasting certainly cannot digest it. It contains a good amount of protein. I think that even grapes and orange pulp were started rather early. I have, therefore, sent you a warning today.[1] For the present the stomach will not be able to digest anything but juice of fruits. More art is needed in gradually returning to the normal diet after a fast than in fasting. Many people don't have the necessary patience during that time. The increase in your weight also seems too rapid. However, there is no cause for anxiety. You have now seen the right way. Even juice of fruits should be taken in small quanti-

[1] *Vide* p. 230.

ties and slowly. It should be sipped or licked, not gobbled or gulped. It should be taken with a spoon and allowed to mix with the saliva. I am waiting for your next telegram, which I shall get only tomorrow. From today evening, I shall be touring in the neighbourhood of Bezwada. They will forward your telegram to me wherever I am. This is bound to cause some delay in my getting it, but that cannot be helped. May God restore and preserve your health.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6773

215. SPEECH AT GUNADALA KHADDAR ASHRAM

April 11, 1929

I expect you to work in greater earnestness. All your energy should be directed towards the country's cause. I am glad I am brought to this Ashram. I only say to you this: Produce your own cotton here and unless and until you do it, you will not be good spinners. Learn Hindi. Give me your jewellery. It will be better utilized by me. If you have not the courage to give it to me, convert it into money and invest it in a bank which could be utilized in time of need. Jewellery is worn in towns and villages and not in ashrams of this kind.

The Hindu, 11-4-1929

216. SPEECH AT PADAMATA

April 11, 1929

I am not satisfied with money alone, there should be the heart behind. If you really feel for this then, at this moment give up liquor which burns the hearts of people. The professional people who make liquor should also give up preparing it. You must all combine to drive out this devil. Then only money given by you will be of value. I get money from prostitutes and liquor dealers and I accept it hoping they would repent for their vices. I urge you to make this reform immediately. I exhort you to give up foreign cloth and wear khaddar. I appeal to all those who have not already paid their quota to do so now.

The Hindu, 11-4-1929

217. THE FEARLESS SPEAKER

[*April 12, 1929*][1]

Whatever the outcome of the tussle between the Speaker of the Assembly and the Government, Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel has more than vindicated the choice of the Assembly in electing him to the Speaker's chair. He had upheld the dignity of the office by his strict impartiality.[2] But within the limits prescribed by law or tradition, he had missed not a single opportunity of advancing the national cause. This has naturally brought about a conflict between him and the Government. And he had won every time, he won even when he was betrayed by the heat of the moment into a departure from his usual urbanity. He corrected himself the very next day by tendering a dignified, voluntary, ample apology. He has never hidden his colours. By his fearless conduct in the chair, he has enhanced the prestige of the nation.

It is therefore worth while examining the cause of his great success. He has no personal end to serve. His financial needs are small for he lives simply, and therefore neither the high office nor the high salary have any temptation for him. And to this state of detachment he adds an amazing industry that has enabled him to gain an unsurpassable mastery over the rules and procedure guiding his high office. For Vithalbhai Patel politics have been no pastime for filling his leisure hours, they have been a passion with him. He has therefore dedicated all his talents and time to their study with the result that in his own field he has made himself almost invincible.

Young India, 18-4-1929

[1] The article was written at Wuyyur on this date.
[2] *Vide* also pp. 270-2.

218. TELEGRAM TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

WUYYUR,
[*April 12, 1929*][1]

IMPORTANCE
CALCUTTA

DAILY ENEMA NECESSARY TILL FREE NATURAL MOTIONS COMMENCE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 6774

219. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 12, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I constantly think of you. This leanness of body won't do. You must have enough flesh on you to support your big frame. But of course there is no hurry. Do insist on having a room to yourself where you can shut yourself in if you like.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5363. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9419

220. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 12, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Do not listen to anybody else's advice. Do not fail to write to me about anything which may happen and which I should know.

Tell Ratilal about Chorwad. Meet his wishes and keep him there.

Let me know what Purushottam wishes now.

Do what you think proper about S.[2] If H.[3] is ready to take her away, he may do so. My consent is not necessary. He should take her away on his own responsibility.

[1] From the postmark
[2] & [3] The names are being omitted.

I think I have already written to you about the conversation I had with Mama.

Have you handed over to Shankerlal the money received from Rangoon?

I can understand that P.[1] will not like to remain on the committee for some time. Meet him often.

If you still have any doubt, be fearless and write to me about it.

You may make whatever use you like of Chhaganlal's room. Do you get any letters from him?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5402

221. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 12, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got your letter of the 7th. I think it is beyond my power to lay down the exact measure of food for you to take. In my opinion even a professional physician cannot prescribe for a patient the exact measure from a distance. I can, therefore, only make some suggestions. You may follow only such of them as suit you. Provided no harm seems to result, you may try the following for a week:

(1) 80 *tolas* of cow's milk in four instalments during the day. It should be boiled only once. There will be no harm if you drink the milk cold after it has been boiled once; drink it, that is, in the right quantity.

(2) If you feel the desire, after every instalment of milk suck black currants, exactly twenty in number, after washing them.

(3) If you feel no heaviness eat with the milk one *tola* exactly weighed of toasted brown bread, taking care to chew it properly.

(4) Crush one *tola* of uncooked *tandalja*, adding, if you like, a little rock salt and take it along with the toast. For the first week take it only once and not with every meal.

If you feel thirsty between meals, boil some water once and let it cool; dissolve in one glass of it 20 grams of soda bicarb; in another glass of water press juice from one sour lemon; pour the juice in the mixture in the glass and drink it. Drink this only once.

[1] The name is being omitted.

After brushing the teeth in the morning, take a glass of hot water. You will note that I have not included honey in all this. You will get the honey from the black grapes. The vitamins you will get from uncooked vegetable and some from the lemon.

If you bring out sputum in the cough, note the fact; but there is no need to be scared by it. You should be satisfied if you get no attack of asthma. Sputum in the cough will decrease as you gain strength.

If you feel the slightest heaviness with this regimen, omit the toast.

If the heaviness persists in spite of discontinuing the toasts you should diminish the quantity of milk and the bread too. Soda [bicarb] will prove helpful. All this, again, you should regard as a general directive. There is no harm in keeping yourself busy.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6777

222. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, MASULIPATAM*

April 13, 1929

I am glad to see so many of my sisters here, but I am pained to see several of them clad in foreign cloth. My prayer is that you should boycott foreign cloth and take to khadi. Let there be *Ramarajya* in India once more. There can be no *Ramarajya* without Sita and I wish to see Sita embodied in you all.

Do not consider anyone untouchable, train your children, boys and girls, in the best traditions inherited from our ancestors. Discourage and discountenance early marriages and give your children the best education that you can give. I want you to give away your valuables and jewellery for khaddar, for khaddar is more important and more useful than jewellery in our domestic and economic ills. Many of my sisters have set an example by their tremendous sacrifice in this behalf and I hope that you will not lag behind them in your goal for khaddar.

The Hindu, 15-4-1929

223. SPEECH AT ARUNDHATI ASHRAM, MASULIPATAM

April 13, 1929

I feel it an honour to have been invited to such an institution. I have always taken an abiding interest in visiting institutions where *Panchama* boys have been provided with special facilities for their education and betterment.

Let us sincerely ask ourselves wherein untouchability really lies. It is in an indifference to rules of sanitation, cleanliness and well-ordered life that we become untouchables.

I do not know if the evil of drink is prevalent among the *Panchamas* here as it is in other parts. If it is the same here, let me not hesitate to warn my *Panchama* brothers against the curse of drink, and eating cow's flesh. I cannot but express my satisfaction at seeing so many of my *Panchama* brothers being educated here. I am not in the least blind to the economic distress which so many of our *Panchamas* suffer in common with other communities and the remedy, I have never been tired of suggesting, is khaddar. I appeal therefore to *Panchama* brothers here to take to khaddar.

The Hindu, 15-4-1929

224. SPEECH AT ANDHRA JATIYA KALASHALA, MASULIPATAM[1]

April 13, 1929

It gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to renew my acquaintance with you especially as I do so on the same familiar and sacred ground of your national institution. But that pleasure is not unmixed with pain and sorrow because I miss the familiar face of Hanumantrao the originator and soul of this national college. Before, therefore, I come to other parts of my address I propose to unburden myself of the thoughts that are welling up in my breast in connection with this institution. It is an open secret that at the present moment it is a house divided against itself and there is just a danger of the noble work that has been bequeathed by Hanumantrao being swept into the sea. I will just

[1] This was published as part of the article "In Andhra Desha", 25-4-1929, *vide* pp. 287-8.

utter one word of advice and warning to all those who are responsible for the future of this institution. Preserve at any cost its purely national character. This institution I have proudly claimed during my tour in India as one of the oases in the desert that at the present moment surrounds us in this beloved land of ours. Let your faith be not found wanting when it is weighed in the balance. That faith is of little value which can flourish only in fair weather. Faith in order to be of any value has to survive the severest trials. Your faith is a whited sepulchre if it cannot stand against the calumny of the whole world. You will, therefore, never weigh the success of this institution by the quantity of admissions, it is quality alone that should be the deciding factor in determining the future policy of this national institution. If you have faith in yourselves you will be satisfied to teach only one lad if he cares to come to this institution. Conversely you will refuse to lower your colours even if a thousand admissions were promised you, provided only you made yourselves agreeable to affiliation.

I thank you for the several purses as also the addresses that you have presented to me. Time is too short for me to attempt a detailed reply to all these various addresses. I propose however to single out two addresses, one from the Bandar District Board and the other from the Bandar Municipality for reply, for they offer criticism. I value the addresses for it. I can profit by criticism, never by praise. In these addresses an objection has been raised against the burning of foreign cloth. It is not an original or a new argument. Some of my best friends have raised the very objections that have been raised in those addresses. But after having given the most careful consideration that I could to these objections I find myself unable to alter the views that I have always held on this question, viz., that it is the sacred duty of our people to strip themselves of their foreign clothes and consign them to the flames. And I venture to submit not only that it is consistent with the doctrine of ahimsa to burn foreign cloth but that a proper appreciation of that doctrine demands the burning of foreign cloth in India. Remember one vital thing about this burning, that it is the owner of the foreign cloth who is called upon to deliver for burning such cloth in his possession. You will concede that if I possess a piece of cloth or anything that is infected with plague germs it would be my duty to burn it. I remember how whilst I was in South Africa a market that had cost £14,000 was consigned to the flames with all its contents by the Municipality of Johannesburg because it was suspected of being infected with plague germs. I admired and appreciated this action of the Johan-

nesburg Municipality and I still think that it probably saved Johannesburg from what might have been a deadly plague. As a Vaishnavite I can repeat to you experiences from my own life and my friends' lives of the richest dishes being thrown into the gutter because they had suffered ceremonial pollution. My submission in connection with the foreign cloth is that it is more than polluted and is infected with germs that are fatal to the welfare of India—moral, economic and political. You of Masulipatam do not need to be reminded of the history of this port and how foreign cloth has denuded this port of India of its commercial prosperity and its once matchless art. I hold that we committed a crime against Indian humanity when we parted with the spinning-wheel and sold the economic independence of India for a pottage of foreign cloth. And today acted upon by inertia we are repeating that crime. I have therefore felt it to be my bounden duty to awaken India from her torpor. You do not need to have a knowledge of economics to understand the simple truth that if we could distribute among the starving millions of India 60 crores of rupees that go to the purchase of foreign cloth none of them need starve, nor do you need to have an extraordinary knowledge of arithmetic in order to appreciate the fact that if we could produce all the cloth that is needed in India it is possible to prevent these 60 crores from going out of the country. This is a thing that we were doing only 100 years ago. We have got ready-made power in the arms and hands of millions of able-bodied men and women that are today rusting in idleness in the cottages of India. There is no reason why these millions of idle hands should not be turning millions of spindles in the cottages of the 7,00,000 villages of India. England does not grow cotton and yet she finds it possible for her to carry cotton grown in India all the way over to Lancashire and to return it to India in the form of cloth. How much more easy should it be then for us to carry cotton that we ourselves grow from place to place in India where it may be needed, and get it woven into cloth? In spite of apathy, and in spite of passive and even active opposition the thing is being done today in two thousand villages in this country. And our needy sisters do not mind walking several miles from day to day or week to week to get money or cotton in exchange for the yarn that their delicate fingers have spun. If therefore we have the slightest feeling for these needy sisters and for the starving millions of India, one tenth of whom according to English administrators themselves hardly get a square meal from year's end to year's end, you will discard and consign to the

flames every inch of foreign cloth as the least penance, the least expiation that India expects her sons to do.

But it has been suggested in one of these addresses that khadi should not be sold through middlemen but manufactured by each one for himself. I like this counsel of perfection. Only it betrays ignorance of practical facts about khadi production. And if the framers of these addresses will permit me to say so, it betrays gross ignorance of the technique of khadi production. It is a physical impossibility for everybody to produce his own khadi just as it is physically impossible for every man to grow his own rice. It is not possible for dwellers in the cities of India to produce their own khadi even if they wished to do so. At no time in the history of India of which we have record was it possible for everyone to produce his khadi. And for the life of me I cannot understand the philosophy lying behind the statement, 'Wear either your own khadi or foreign cloth.' Let it be known that there are millions in India who can work at the spinning-wheel for eight hours a day and that it is impossible for them to use all the khadi woven therefrom. It is the bounden duty of good citizens of India to take off the surplus product that is turned out by these brothers and sisters of theirs. Let us not also forget that it is man's social nature which distinguishes him from the brute creation. If it is his privilege to be independent it is equally his duty to be interdependent. Only an arrogant man will claim to be independent of everybody else and be self-contained. But let me in all humility point out to the framers of these addresses that the movement of 'self-contained' system of khadi production is going on in several places in India and if only the Municipalities, the Taluka Boards and District Boards will do their primary duty and come to assistance it will be possible to reconstruct our villages so that the villages collectively, not the villagers individually, will become self-contained so far as their clothing requirements are concerned, and if the framers of these addresses will take the trouble of reading the literature produced by the A.I.S.A. from time to time they will find what is being done in this direction. It is for that reason that I have said times without number that when khadi becomes current coin in India, it will have nothing to fear from the competition of foreign cloth or even of Indian mill-made cloth. A little reflection will show that this is a self-demonstrable proposition.

But I must pass on from this subject to other topics of equal importance. The Working Committee not only expects every Indian, who is desirous of securing freedom for his country, to

boycott foreign cloth but also to make India go dry. The curse of drink is eating into the vitals of the Indian society and the labouring population in our factories is rapidly becoming degraded through the invasion of this drink evil. I suggested to every intelligent citizen of Masulipatam that it is his sacred duty to strain[1] every nerve to bring about total prohibition, and if we do our duty we will compel even the foreign Government to introduce prohibition legislation.

Throughout the country there is too much trifling with the national finance. My friends, you do not know how much money has been voted away for Andhra Desha for khadi production and for the removal of untouchability and you will permit me to say that the way in which this money has been handled by the various workers to whom it has been entrusted has not been to me a happy experience. It is time we woke up from our dreams. Not until we are jealous of our national finances as we are of our own, not till we are jealous of the reputation of the nation as of our own shall we have swaraj. We have to be like Cæsar's wife above suspicion in all these matters if we are to deserve the name of national servants. It is not enough that workers do not use it for self, it is wrong when they use it carelessly or for purposes not intended.

Andhra Desha has unlimited possibilities. It has a virile manhood. Its women I have known to be energetic and industrious even in South Africa. You are generous to a fault. Properly led you are capable of amazing self-sacrifice. Your bravery is unquestioned. But unfortunately those who are in a position to render a good account of themselves to the nation are far more eager to lead than to serve. There is hesitation and fear to pass criticism where criticism is needed and you share the common national frailty of whitewashing every blemish. I would be untrue to you if I did not during this year of grace, of discipline and probation warn you against these faults and exhort you to remove them to the best of your capacity.

You have seen how the most brilliant and effective work done by the ablest Speaker that we are ever likely to have has been undone in one single minute by one word from the lips of the mighty Viceroy. I draw your attention to this incident to enable you to visualize the great work that lies before you. Whether it comes today or years hence the freedom and emancipation of India is not to come through the so-called legislatures but through the work in the villages in the way pointed out by the Congress. If

[1] The source has "strive".

the Viceroy had the knowledge that the Speaker was the representative of a nation wide awake and capable of energetic action he would have accommodated himself to the ruling given by Vithalbhai. And the energy which can affect the Viceroy and the Government of which he is the head is never the hysterical energy of the bomb-thrower but the combined, quiet and unremitting energy generated from work done by millions of hands. Show me a united Congress with pure finances, a Congress with millions of villagers on its rolls, a Congress having khadi depots in every village, show me a Congress jealous of the honour of every individual, a Congress that has washed away the stain of untouchability, a Congress that has achieved unity between Hindus and Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Jews and Sikhs and then you will find that no Viceroy dare ignore or set at nought the authority of the Speaker of the nation's representatives.

Young India, 25-4-1929

225. *MY NOTES*

Shri Manchersha Awari

Everyone knows that Shri Manchersha Awari is in Nagpur jail. His brother writes:[1]

I have written to Shri Awari, though I have not been able to examine the matter very closely on account of my travels. I have even given my advice to the local Congress Committee. It is my view that a satyagrahi prisoner should not insist on khadi clothes while in jail. A satyagrahi should not commit a breach of the general jail regulations. Only if he is insulted or subjected to oppression, if his religion is outraged or he is forced to do a thing for not doing which he finds himself in jail, only then should a satyagrahi commit civil disobedience of jail rules. If, for example, a jailor hurls abuse at one, gives food which is not fit to eat or clothes which are not fit to wear this should be opposed. Or when it is an offence to wear khadi clothes outside and, if instead of khadi, articles made of foreign cloth are issued in jail one must insist on wearing khadi. Shri Awari has been jailed not because he wore khadi clothes; hence I think it would not be proper

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that Manchersha wished to use only clothes made of khadi, which the Superintendent declined to issue and would therefore like to know whether a prisoner should observe all jail regulations. *Vide* also Vol. XXXVII, p. 43.

for him to insist on wearing khadi in jail. At the same time I believe that, if the jail officials refuse to allow Shri Awari to get khadi clothes from outside and wear them, that is an injustice and it is unbecoming obstinacy on their part to make Shri Awari give up his insistence. I feel there must be some special reason in Shri Awari not being given khadi. Local leaders must closely examine this matter.

Caste Dinners by Incurring Debt

A shopkeeper from Wadhwan writes:[1]

There is one straight and simple remedy against it. The *Antyajas* do what the so-called "high-caste" people do. If therefore the "high-caste" people stop giving caste-dinners, the *Antyajas,* who have learnt the bad habit from the "high-caste" people, will also readily give it up. But this happy consummation will take some time. Hence, the immediate remedy is to make the *Antyaja* brothers aware of their condition and to get them to effect the reform. Quite a few give caste-dinners, etc., out of fear. Even the *Antyajas* fear being ostracized; in fact, they fear it more than the "high-caste" people. The good men among the "high-caste" people who have been thrown out of their caste have the whole Hindu world at their back. Only God is there to protect the ostracized *Antyajas*; they embrace another religion out of expediency. When the *Antyajas* become conscious of their strength, their capacity for reform will far surpass that of the "high-caste" people. The "high-caste" people are troubled by self-interest and other temptations, while the *Antyajas,* once they gain understanding and fearlessness, will have no barrier to obstruct them. It is the duty of the "high-caste" people to give them such understanding and fearlessness; it will be their atonement too.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-4-1929

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that an untouchable boy was being forced to incur a debt and give a caste dinner in connection with his father's death.

Many young people, unable to keep away from sin in spite of their best efforts, become despondent and gradually sink deeper into sin. Some even begin to look upon sin as virtue. I often advise such people to read the *Gita* and the *Ramayana* again and again. But they don't find it interesting. For their consolation I give below an extract bearing on the subject from the letter[1] of a young man. One would scarcely find young men more despondent and cynical than the writer of this letter was. Sins had made their abode in his body. But the faith he has today should inspire hope in all young people. No one who studies the *Ramayana* and such other works, placing his faith in the experience of those who have conquered their passions, can remain unmoved. Even on the study of ordinary subjects, we often have to spend many years and employ diverse means. How much effort then would be needed to study something which concerns peace not only in this life but hereafter? What can be said of one who in spite of this would spend the minimum time and attention on the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* and still expect them to be interesting? The writer of the above letter says that passions invade him the moment he is conscious of being calm. What is true of the body is true of the mind. One whose body is perfectly healthy is never conscious of his health. That consciousness is not necessary at all. Being healthy is the nature of the body. The same is the case with mind. The day we become conscious of it being clean we should understand that passions are creeping in. So the way to keep the mind ever clean is to keep it constantly engrossed in good thoughts. That is why *Ramayana* and the like were invented and sung. One in whose heart Rama dwells permanently, can never be assailed by passions. The truth is that Ramanama ultimately sinks into the heart of one who recites it with true devotion. When this happens, it becomes an impregnable fortress. Impurity can be combated not by brooding over it, but by contemplating purity. With good intentions we often go in for contrary remedies. We contemplate impurity when we brood: where did it come from? This is to be compared with violent remedies, the true remedy being non-co-operation. When impurity invades us, there is no

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had described how his study of the *Ramayana* and the *Gita* had benefited him.

need to bid it quit. We must contemplate purity as if impurity did not exist. There is a trace of fear in bidding it quit. Courage lies in not even thinking of it. One should develop the faith that impurity will not even touch one. This method is proved by experience.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-4-1929

227. *A YOUNG MAN'S PREDICAMENT*

A college student writes:[1]

I do not see in this letter the bubbling optimism of youth nor its courage. It betrays rather the miserliness of a Bania and the grey pessimism of one like me nearing the brink of death. How does this young man, "seeing the prevailing conditions", conclude that the Government will not grant Dominion Status? He forgets that the Government is not going to grant anything; that we will get what we want by the force of our sacrifice and unity. What may seem impossible to the timid calculating mind should seem possible to the indomitable courage of youth. In making possible what appears impossible lies the bravery and the glory of youth.

But I agree that if the youth and other sections of our people continue to take things easy, we cannot achieve victory by the end of the year. However, even if it so turns out it will be something which the brave should welcome because it will give them opportunity to fight. When faced with a battle, does a fighter flee the field saying "my land may be taken from me"?

At any rate, I see no reason for the students to take alarm. Even if there is a struggle they may be sure that the college they have left will be theirs in the end. The question of the loss of fees is hardly worth consideration when one thinks of swaraj. What importance should we attach to the mere loss of fees when many will lose their all?

With these observations I now come to the specific questions raised by this student. Whether to leave Government schools and colleges or not will be ultimately decided by the Congress. If I

[1] The letter is not translated here. He had written that in case the Government refused to grant Dominion Status and students were called upon to participate in the non-co-operation movement, they would have to suffer financial loss which the poorer amongst them could hardly afford.

had my way, I should certainly urge their boycott. It is as clear as daylight that the Government carries on its rule in this country through these schools and colleges. Acharya Ramdev, in his lectures at the Gujarat Vidyapith, proved from the testimony of the English witnesses themselves that the intention of the Government in formulating the present system of education was to produce servants who would carry out the orders of their English masters. Thousands of young men struggling for degrees want them for the sole purpose of obtaining jobs. Degrees cannot give knowledge, for knowledge is acquired only by study. At the root of this desire for degrees lies the temptation of Government posts. It is a great obstacle to swaraj. I see a new spirit arising in our youth. It delights me, but it does not make me blind. This spirit is as yet only a momentary impulse and to some extent mechanical and artificial. When the real spirit emerges, it will dazzle the world with its brilliance like the rays of the sun. And with the birth of that spirit in our people, no student will have any need for either school or college. For the present, however, like the paper currency of the Government, its schools and colleges are also current coin. And who is free of their lure?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-4-1929

228. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 14, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I did not write to you yesterday. I have written to H.[1] and told him that he should obey his conscience. A man cannot serve the woman for whom he feels lust, and her faults he can never see. This is the reason why a husband and wife cannot see each other's faults. Without such blindness of attachment conjugal life would be impossible. It is, therefore, natural that H. cannot see the fault of S.[2] I have explained this to him.

You should not worry about this and similar matters. If S. is ready to observe the rules and wishes to remain and live in a spirit of humility it is our duty to let her remain.

You will find with this a letter from Chhotelal. Neither you nor he is to be blamed for his leaving.

[1] & [2] The names are being omitted.

What does the statement, that Balkoba's attachment to the body has decreased, mean?

For how long has Giriraj left? He did right in leaving Katto and Vimala under the care of Kusum.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5403

229. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

Sunday, April 14, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have had a letter from you after a long time. I see your point regarding Karnatak. You have done all you could in the matter.

Your idea of undertaking khadi work in Malabar appeals to me, but you cannot take it up for the present as you have already given your word to Kakasaheb. He has been trying to get you soon. I had a letter from him very recently. Perhaps you have already heard from him by now. Through you Kakasaheb has high hopes of creating a khadi atmosphere at the Vidyapith, and so you should now think only of going there. If, after doing your job there, you can go to Malabar, well and good. Considering the matter from another standpoint also, the Vidyapith work may suit you better. You are likely to get better help there in your idea of observing *brahmacharya*, and in any case you will have the company of Ashram inmates.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I write this from a village in Andhra Desha. Your reply should be addressed to me at Bezwada, if you got this letter soon. I hope you are both doing well. I follow what you say about the machine.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3730

230. *LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR*

April 14, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got your letter, and also the telegram. There was nothing in the latter which called for a reply.

You have not guessed rightly the reason why I advised you against the use of soap. The soda which the soap contains is not good for the body. The grime of perspiration is removed by bathing with hot water and then rubbing the skin hard with a towel. That way the skin becomes strong. Soda removes from the skin the oil in it which is essential to its health. Moreover, the skin becomes weak and a layer of the skin which has a useful function in the body is also injured. There is no harm in your use of earth, but I do not consider it necessary. The better thing to use is gram flour, or even wheat flour. But ordinarily nothing except hot water is required. Bathe with water and then rub the body with a small wet towel. After the bath is over, cleanse the body with a dry towel of khadi. I mention a khadi towel particularly because its roughness stimulates the skin.

If you gently suck the pulp of raisins or oranges, there is no harm in taking either. But see that seeds or bits of skin do not pass into the stomach. Hence, safety lies in sucking the fruit after removing the seeds, and this will also naturally prolong the sucking.

I know of Macfadden's method of living on milk diet. I believe that it helps in increasing fat in the body. If you wish to try his method, you may certainly do so after you have gained strength. Macfadden's experiments relate to men only, and to large-bodied men of a climate different from ours. Bearing this in mind, we should adapt his method to the needs of bodies like ours. We should not take milk in the quantities mentioned by him. In this matter the safe course for you to follow is to proceed with due regard for the capacity of your body. Even my advice, if it does not agree with you, should be ignored. You may now change over to milk diet. Be in no hurry about gaining strength. It will certainly follow to the extent that you digest your food. I do not want you to start eating *rotli* very soon.

I take jaggery in the morning gruel. I do not consider it essential for me, but I take it only because I wish to have my gruel

from what is prepared for all. As the doctors think honey essential for me, if I had gruel prepared for me alone I would use nothing but honey. There are friends who get me good honey. I do not know the addresses of the suppliers. However, if you are not in a position to make arrangements for getting good honey I would get it for you. You will not require much honey. Write a letter to Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan. Perhaps he will get you good honey.

There will be no harm if you walk a little now. It is certainly necessary to take enemas. Till you are able to clear your bowels without the slightest straining it will be necessary for you to take an enema in the morning. Do not be afraid that taking enemas will become a habit with you. The intestines of a fasting person retain their natural strength for a certain period only and, therefore, require assistance by way of enema.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6775

231. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Sunday, April 14, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Chhaganlal writes to tell me that occasionally you get fed up with the evils which you observe in the Ashram and feel like running away.

If you know of a place free from all evil, we would both seek shelter there. However, if you believe that there is bound to be some evil everywhere, you, I and all others who regard themselves as belonging to the Ashram will have done their duty in life if they cling to the Ashram as it is and try to purify it. It is in the character of the Ashram that it will not tolerate evil and it is its distinguishing mark that this nature is being strengthened as time passes.

The general practice of men is that if any evil comes to their notice they cover it up. It is because of this attitude that evil increases in the world. However, though evil increases it is in the nature of the world to remain good and that is why it continues to exist. Otherwise, it would have perished long ago.

Reflect over what I have said, and remain firm in mind; do not worry; and keep your peace of mind. Regain your health

fully. Do you eat some uncooked vegetable? How much milk are you able to digest now?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 23

232. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

April 15, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters. You have my promise that if anything happens to me, you shall know by wire. You must therefore reject all canards as baseless unless confirmed by me. The Ashram thing you know.[1] The events have left me undisturbed in my work. There is something deep down felt but it is natural. I feel that the Ashram is the purer for these revelations. It was corrupt whilst the sins were going on. We are the better for the exposures.

Your duty is to rebuild your body and make it invulnerable if it is at all possible. But no anxiety even on this score.

The condition of the people as described by you is nothing new for me. But you are now understanding my impatience about their condition.

No more today.

Headquarters still Bezwada.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am today in Masulipatam.

From the original: C.W. 5364. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9420

[1] *Vide* pp. 209-12.

233. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

Silence Day, April 15, 1929

SISTERS,

I have no time to write much today. I beg all of you who live in the Mandir to see that it continues and flourishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–1: Ashramni Behnone

234. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Things are happening so fast there that I cannot keep pace with them. You write and tell me that S.[1] is leaving. Where and in what manner was probably explained in your previous letter, which I have not yet received. I say this because I should have received two letters today. I had a letter from Kishorelal, from which I infer that she is going away to live with H.[2] That is also good. We need not be upset if people leave on their own, without any fault of ours. If they part company with us, we deserve that. Those who understand the meaning of what we are doing may remain. If, because of fewer people remaining, you find difficulty in carrying on your work, you may enlist the help of some senior students. If you wish to close some of the departments, you may certainly do so. See that you do not persist in anything which you know to be beyond your capacity and invite failure.

If Krishnadas has recovered and can join you, you may call him. I see no harm in your utilizing the services of one or more from among Kanti, Bal and Jayanti who you think may be useful to you. You can certainly ask for Sitla Sahai's help. Why does Ramniklal feel dispirited?

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] & [2] The names are being omitted.

[PS.]

Enclosed with this is a letter from Prabhudas. The Managing Committee should read it. Show it to Kaka.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5404

235. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 15, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I had your telegram, but did not wire to you in reply as there was nothing to say. All that is required now is to have patience. Do not worry about weakness. Instead of taking milk every hour, you should have it now at longer intervals. It will be good to take it every two hours. The total quantity of milk may remain the same. The stomach requires time to digest anything.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6776

236. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[April 16, 1929][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I write this before leaving Masulipatam, so that I may not let go today's post without a letter.

The Mandir belongs to those who observe its rules. Those who do not observe them, who violate them, are bound to leave when caught. We should not feel sorry if any such persons are caught. We are not on a higher pedestal than the guilty ones. We should love them, thinking that in their circumstances we, too, probably would have done what they did. Dismiss the idea of a purificatory fast. Think over this and go on doing whatever work you can as if nothing had happened. You will then have no cause to feel sad. We should assume that mistakes will be committed again and be ready to face such a contingency. I have not said anything new in this. My aim in saying this is to persuade you to give up worrying how to bring about the spiritual uplift of the Mandir.

[1] Gandhiji was at Masulipatam on April 15. It appears this letter was written before he left for Bezwada the following morning.

If you have not paid the money received from Rangoon, pay it now. Also pay the money received from Hyderabad. Both these amounts include certain sums earmarked for the Lalaji Fund, etc., if you have received the figures of these sums, keep that money back. If you have not received them, we shall look into the matter afterwards.

How does Ratilal behave?

Is Purushottam still there? How is his health? If he is there, ask him to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5427

237. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

April 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You are passing through a severe ordeal. I have pointed out to you the mistake which was made in the affair about S.[1] Instead of the matter being discussed with P.[2], all attacks were directed at S., and this was like leading an assault against an ant. I knew this, and still I joined in the assault, and, therefore, I don't balme you much for what happened. Everything was done through good motives. Whatever has happened is good. It was natural on S.'s part to go and live with H.[3] Both will be tried now. It is true that I feel unhappy at the thought that S. was unnecessarily subjected to a sort of pressure. For this, however, I blame myself more than I do you. But now this chapter is closed.

We now open that of Vasumati and Kusum. Consult me in this matter and then do what you think fit. I have written a letter today to Vasumati. I see that she will have to be given a separate room. I have advised her not to insist on being given the one which was occupied by Chhotelal. I have also advised her to give up the thought of getting a new room built for her. The only right thing for her is to accept one of the eight rooms. I shall try to persuade Ba, too, to accept a separate room. I must admit my defeat in regard to the women's section. I had some hopes about Vasumati, but I see now that they cannot be realized. I

[1], [2] & [3] The names are being omitted.

do not blame her for this. Sharda has left. I don't see any possibility of Kusum living there alone at present. She wants to accompany me on my tours. On my next tour, I will not prevent her from going with me, but I cannot say what her ultimate future will be. Who else, then, remain in the women's section? We certainly cannot count Yashodadevi and Sarojinidevi. I feel that we have no choice but to give them, too, separate rooms. My defeat, therefore, is complete. I must be humble and know that such experiments cannot be conducted unless I live in the Ashram all the year round. If you wish, do about these two what you have done about Nanubhai, provided they and their husbands desire that.

Who looks after Vimala and Katto?

I wish to reduce the burden on you. Surajbhan and Sitla Sahai do know the condition about *brahmacharya*. They should so live that it can be observed. If they cannot observe it, they may leave the Ashram. We should trust them. You can go so far without consulting me. I am constantly thinking what more we can do. My soul is ever present there.

If you think that Narandas will help you in all these things, discuss the matters with him. Perhaps he will be able to lighten your burden.

I had a letter from Harjivan. I send it with this for you to read.

Whenever people leave the Ashram, you should think that there will be so much the less burden on you. Do not lose heart if the Ashram becomes deserted and do not blame yourself for such a result.

We can ask Kakasaheb to give only as much help as he can easily give from the Vidyapith. We cannot request him to come and live in the Ashram. We do not wish to improve the Ashram at the cost of the Vidyapith. If you assume certain things as fixed, you will not get confused in your thoughts.

You cannot call either Kaka or Vinoba or Lakshmidas; you may keep Mahadev there. And you ought not to overwork yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5405

238. LETTER TO TULSI MAHER

April 17, 1929

CHI. TULSI MAHER,

My tour keeps me wandering. Seeing your letter I feel like writing to you. I hope you are well and your mind is at peace. I have not had a letter from you for several days now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 6529

239. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

GUNTUR,
Wednesday [April 17, 1929][1]

BHAI RAMESHWAR,

I hope your mind is now at peace and your health satisfactory.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 197

240. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

April 17, 1929

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I have found this [letter of yours] among the old letters. Let us not watch how others behave towards us. Let us watch how we behave towards others.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 200

[1] From Gāndhiji's tour itinerary

241. LETTER TO BHOLANATH SINGH

April 17, 1929

BHAI BHOLANATH,

It is only today that I am able to reply to your letter received long ago. Regarding girls of tender age I know of no other way than to publicize each case and get in touch with the parents and persuade them not to commit such "murder" of their children.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAI BHOLANATH SINGH
RASHTRIYA VIDYALAYA
P.O. HAVELI KHADAGPUR
DIST. MONGHYR, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 7778

242. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, GUNTUR

April 17, 1929

Mahatmaji, while replying to the Municipal address, paid homage to the memory and work of the late Duggiralu Gopalakrishnaiya and said that as leaders passed away, the burden of the people's duty would become more heavy. Referring to the Municipal address, he said the Municipality had much to do in the way of combating the evil habits of people abusing public grounds and maidans. He saw a ghastly sight that day while crossing the river Krishna. That was not the way of using a sacred river. Many people were abusing also the sacred sands of that holy river and it was high time for the people and the Municipality to eradicate those habits. He would ask of the Municipality one question: what was the work they were doing now particularly in the cause of public health and sanitation?

Before I leave this place I want to ascertain from you how far the Congress programme has been carried out in these parts. Of course I ask you all, I request you earnestly, on behalf of the poor and starving millions of our land, to use khaddar and promote its production. If you think of their hunger, and the hunger of their helpless women and children, you will, as true Indians, come out to help them and then you will not mind untouchability

or caste. If you are really sincere in your sympathy and in your desire to serve those starving stomachs, then you will come out to work and remove not only the evil of untouchability from your path, but also help those poor countrymen of yours to banish the curse of drink from their lives. Now, my question to you is: are you so sincere?

The Hindu, 18-4-1929

243. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KERINCHEDU

April 17, 1929

I have heard that you have been sitting here from 5.30 onwards. I am sorry for the delay; it is now eleven in the night, but I am glad to see you and heartily congratulate you on your patience. I thank you all for that and for your purse. But I should like to ask one question, is your desire to see me equal to your desire to see your country free? Will you show the same patience there also? I want also to tell you another thing. Do not think you have done all when you have contributed to the purse fund. You should not think that you have carried out the constructive programme of the Congress by subscribing to the Khadi Fund. In addition to that, you must boycott foreign cloth and wear only khaddar. I see some volunteers here wearing foreign cloth. I also noticed that sisters who came here to give money did not wear khadi. Remember, this money is for making your own clothes. And if you do not wear clothes of your own country and give money to the Khadi Fund, your giving is not a true giving. I hope that every one of you will have a charkha in your house now and hereafter. You must give up drink, you have no time to get drunk, and no money to waste while your brothers and sisters are starving. Remember these words to you in the night.

The Hindu, 19-4-1929

244. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, PEDANANDIPA

April 17, 1929

I thank you very much for the purse you have given for the Khadi Fund. That means you have thought of the poor and starving countrymen of yours in this land. I read your address in which you have stated that you once launched civil disobedience in 1921. I am very glad to know and I congratulate you on your heroism and I hope you will show the same heroism, whenever the call comes to you. I believe you will show it when necessary. You have also stated that you have tried to remove untouchability but that you were not completely successful. I shall hope for your complete success soon. If you want to embark upon civil disobedience in any *firka*, let me tell you we must have 50 per cent of khaddar wearers because it means discipline and organization. You must try to rectify all defects before you want to launch civil disobedience and you must remove all signs of weakness. Besides, you must give up drink and stand on your own spirit. You must remove untouchability, for in this fight there is no room for it. And another great preparation is, we have to foster Hindu-Muslim unity. These are the most essential things for the attainment of swaraj. Remember 1930 is fast approaching and as your preparations are weak or strong, so shall the struggle commence ill or well. Need I say to you, gird up your loins? May God bless you with courage.

The Hindu, 19-4-1929

245. THE BOMB AND THE KNIFE

At the back of the bomb thrown in the Assembly by men bearing Hindu names and the knife of Rajpal's assassin bearing a Muslim name runs the same philosophy of mad revenge and impotent rage. The bomb-throwers have discredited the cause of freedom in whose name they threw the bombs; the user of the knife has discredited Islam in whose name the perpetrator did the mad deed. The Government would be foolish if they become nervous and resort to counter madness. If they are wise, they will perceive that they are in no small measure to blame for the madness of the bomb-thrower. By their indifference to popular

feeling they are exasperating the nation and the exasperation is bound to lead some astray. Congressmen whose creed is non-violence will do well not to give even secret approval to the deed but pursue their method with redoubled vigour, if they have real faith in it.

Rajpal's assassination has given him a martyrdom and a name which he did not deserve. He had made full reparation in regard to his pamphlet[1]. He had also already suffered for it. The assassination has brought him posthumous renown. I tender the members of the martyr's family my condolences and hope that neither they nor the Arya Samajists will harbour any ill will against the Mussalmans because of the deed of one mad man amongst them. The assassin will, I expect, in due course pay the last penalty for his deed. It is to be fervently hoped that there will not be a repetition of the sorry scenes one witnessed over the funeral of Abdul Rashid.

Of course the bomb and the knife derive their lease of life from the world's belief in violence as a remedy for securing supposed justice. Organized destruction is no less immoral because it is not a crime in the penal code of nations. The insensate speed with which the nations of the West are hourly forging new weapons of destruction for purposes of war is suffocating the world with the spirit of violence. Little wonder if hot-heads of all nations and all faiths should overstep the limits of the penal code even at the risk of their lives. The bomb-thrower and the assassin will live on so long as public opinion of the world tolerates war. But they can always be kept under check if local opinion does not approve of or tolerate their activity.

The bomb is more easily dealt with than the knife. The bomb has no *milieu* in India. The Government can stop it today if they choose, not by frightfulness but by conceding the national demand gracefully and in time. But that is hoping against hope. For the Government to do so would be a change of heart, not merely of policy. And there is nothing on the horizon to warrant the hope that any such change is imminent.

The hope therefore lies really in the nation, in the Congressmen. In my wanderings I have sensed no belief amongst national workers in methods of violence. I have however missed a living faith in the method of non-violence, I have felt even a want of faith in it. An atmosphere of despair undoubtedly pervades the air. This demoralizing uncertainty disables workers from appre-

[1] *Rangila Rasool*

ciating to the full the programme prescribed by the National Congress. They do not see that if non-violence is to express itself in national activities for attainment of freedom, the Congress programme is the natural and inevitable outcome. We can to a great extent checkmate the bomb-thrower, if we would have faith in our own programme and work for it.

Young India, 18-4-1929

246. FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

Sjt. Jairamdas, Secretary of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee appointed by the Working Committee, has not allowed grass to grow under his feet. The headquarters of the Committee are Congress House, Bombay. From there the Secretary is issuing bulletins and leaflets and addressing letters to municipal bodies and others. An important leaflet gives the names and addresses of sale-and-production khadi depots throughout India. The reader can have the list by sending an anna stamp to the F.C.B. Committee, Congress House, Bombay 4. The registered telegraphic address is 'Boycott'. It will interest the reader to know that there are in all 328 such centres of which Bengal has 66 and Tamilnad 64. Next come Andhra with 39 and Bihar with 33. Whilst by itself the list is encouraging, it is but a drop in the ocean compared with the foreign-cloth shops in the country. There is no doubt that Bombay alone has more than 328 foreign-cloth sale depots. It is for the public to capture this trade which drains away crores of rupees annually from India. One rupee spent on khadi giveth life, one rupee spent on foreign cloth killeth.

The bulletins issued by the office give information about the progress of boycott. The first leaflet issued gives the case for boycott. 30,000 copies have been printed. A nominal price of one pice has been fixed for it. I copy the following interesting paragraphs[1] from the leaflet.

Young India, 18-4-1929

[1] Not reproduced here

247. IN ANDHRA DESHA [-I]

I am paying this oft-postponed visit at a time trying for me as also for the workers. It is about the hottest part of the year and when owing to long travelling I am almost washed out. Happily though the tour programme is stiff and requires daily travelling mostly by motor-cars, I am left alone between 10 to 5 except for one hour when I am spinning. This gives me time for some recuperation, editing and correspondence.

The tour may be said to have commenced with Hyderabad. Dr. Latifi of Hyderabad met us at Wadi junction and covered the whole party with unobtrusive attention.

Immense crowds greeted us at Hyderabad and it took over 45 minutes to pass from the carriage to the car. By right on either side our lodging was fixed at Sarojini Devi's golden threshold where Dr. Naidu and Padmaja made us feel perfectly at home. Sjt. Vamanrao Naik was the boss of the whole show. But in spite of the able assistance of his volunteers and the help, willingly accepted, of the Hyderabad police, he could not regulate the immense crowds that pressed in from everywhere at the mass meeting. I must not however tarry over the description of the meeting or the many institutions to which Sjt. Vamanrao Naik took us.

Here is the list of the Hyderabad collections as prepared for me by Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya who joined us at Hyderabad leaving his paralytic wife in bed.

> Hyderabad citizens' purse, Rs. 5,025-0-0; Secunderabad purse, 2,557-1-1; Collections at various meetings, 325-10-0; Sedam Vyapari Mandal, 103-0-0; Tandur Vyapari Mandal, 101-0-0; Vikarabad, 10-0-0; Shankerpalli, 50-0-0; Miscellaneous, 60-0-0; Audi Hindu High School, Hyderabad, 161-0-0; P.B.P. School, Secunderabad, 15-0-0; Secunderabad Merchants' purse, 116-0-0; Hyderabad Ladies' Meeting, purse and collections, 639-14-2; Miscellaneous, 174-4-0; Promised by Sjt. Dhanraj, 1,000-0-0; Total Rs. 10,337-13-3.

Leaving Hyderabad on 7th evening contrary to previous arrangement and in order to save time Deshabhakta put us down at Bonkal Station at 3 a.m. and took us by motor to the interior. The arrangement is to take me through villages which are presenting purses. This is not a self-imposed virtue but a virtue of necessity. Growing mass consciousness has awakened the people to a sense of their importance and they have dictated their terms

this time. 'If you want us to give contributions, you must produce Gandhi before us,' they seem to have said. Of course the euphemism for this 'production' is *darshan*. Little do the simple good-hearted villagers realize what it means for a weak old man to move from place to place amid din and noise and receive embarrassing attentions from thousands of men and women. This 'production' is however a good experience for me. It gives me an insight, however slight it may be, into the life of the Andhra villages. Slight it is because I am able to do no more than appear before crowds and receive purses. If the Managing Committee could have given me some time for tarrying in the villages so as to enable me to have chats with them, it would have been a great privilege and an equally great education for me but it was not to be.

I must again however restrain myself hoping to give some interesting reminiscences later on. I must close these hurried lines with the following list. It would show how quick the march has been and how deep we have penetrated the interior.

7-4-1929 — Rajah of Munagala (in Hyderabad) Rs. 1,500-0-0; On the way from Hyderabad to Bonakal, Rs. 10-8-10.

8-4-1929 — Lingala, Rs. 22-11-9; Mekkapeta, 40-13-9; Jaggayyapeta, 622-0-3½; Ponakanchi, 116-0-0; Jayantipuram, 500-7-0.

9-4-1929 — Nandigama, Rs. 1,232-8-6; Guntupalli, 130-0-0; Ibrahampatam, 601-0-0.

10-4-1929 — Nuzvid, Rs. 1,705-9-4; Gollapalli, 280-5-0; Arugolanu, 1,196-0-0; Kanumolu, 58-8-3; Veeraoalli, 140-0-0; Pottipadu, 41-0-0; Atukuru, 184-1-9; Bezwada, 4,735-3-1½.

11-4-1929 — Khaddar Samstha, Gunadala, Rs. 1,220-4-3; Mogalrazapuram, 1,211-0-9; Padamata, 1,434-0-0; (Rs. 201 earmarked for Lalaji Fund); Porauki, 141-10-0; Idupugollu, 887-8-1; Punadipadu, 629-12-0; Godavarru, 440-0-9; Neppalli, 517-1-0; Akunuru, 218-0-0 (Rs. 26 earmarked for Lalaji Fund); Gaudikunta, 8-0-0.

12-4-1929 — Kommumuru, Rs. 401-0-0; Vuyyuru, 695-0-0; Chirivada, 50-0-0 (Rs. 50 earmarked for Lalaji Fund).

Jewellery (approximate value) Rs. 600-0-0.

Total Rs. 21,570-2-5.

Young India, 18-4-1929

248. LETTER TO HARISHCHANDRA BEHRAWALA

April 18, 1929

BHAISHRI HARICHAND,

I have your letter. The doubts raised by you have been answered several times in the columns of *Navajivan*. I am pained and surprised at the ignorance of present conditions displayed in your letter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5675

249. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 18, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have had so much wandering to do these days that I don't get my post regularly. And I would be putting people to difficulty if I asked for the post to be brought to me in villages. They can bring it only in a special car. I, therefore, do not know where I shall get yesterday's and today's post.

I discovered an old letter from Rupnarayanbabu, which I enclose with this. If you know what happened afterwards, or can inquire from him, and if there is anything I can do, write to me about it or ask him to write.

I wrote to you a detailed letter yesterday.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I also enclose with this a note about the expenditure in Wardha which I had got prepared. It need not be returned.

Send me the details about the money received from Rangoon for the Kathiawar Political Conference. The money was collected by Maneklal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5560

250. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

April 18, 1929

CHI. BRIJKISAN,

I have your letter. Jamnalalji too had a talk with me. I welcome your joining the Gandhi Seva Sangh. But remember once having got in you should not so much as think of getting out. Even here probably you will incur the displeasure of your family. They are bound to be displeased one way or another as your ideals and theirs differ. I hope you are keeping good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2363

251. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*April 19, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I tried to write to you yesterday but could not. I had to devote all my time to *Young India*.

Do not hesitate to give me even the smallest details about developments there. I must know them. Maganlal did not write to me every day. Sometimes he did not write to me at all. He knew my ideas; and I also see that, out of false pity for me or for other reasons, he did not acquaint me with many of the defects in people. We need not, however, copy anyone's shortcomings. Maganlal's unwavering faith, his burying himself in the Ashram and his ceaseless vigilance, etc., were virtues worthy of emulation. We know the truth now. Think it a sin to keep back anything from me. What more shocks can I feel now?

I have already written to you something about M.[2] I wished to write immediately he came and saw me but did not. He declared his innocence on oath, and so I remained quiet and told him: "You may now work as you wish and on your own

[1] From the reference to Surajbhan's stay in the Ashram about which Gandhiji says he wrote "the day before yesterday"; *vide* pp. 254-5.

[2] The name is being omitted.

responsibility. Having told you of my suspicion, I have done my duty."

You should, therefore, entertain no suspicion about M. now. He is a mature and experienced person; he may do what he thinks best. If he makes a mistake or sins, others will be free from guilt but will be stained in some measure because M. is a co-worker. We need not keep that girl in the Mandir. The experiment of the Mandir is full of dangers, so is that of M.

Yashodabehn should certainly leave, if you have no doubt about her being guilty of falsehood. If Surajbhan presses you and you let her stay, I will not find fault with you. I wrote to you the day before yesterday. The ideas expressed in that letter have become stronger. Let Surajbhan and Yashodabehn live together, as Nanubhai and Dahibehn do. Both should work. I suggest that a similar arrangement should be made for Sitla Sahai and Sarojinibehn. You may, if you wish to, resolve not to admit any more couples. If you admit any, they may live together on condition that they promise to observe *brahmacharya*. If they wish, they may, though living together, sleep in separate beds and avoid being alone with each other; if they do not wish to do that, we should not lay down a rule that they must. If they fall, they will leave.

You are right in deciding that the buildings which fall vacant should be given to some others to occupy. It is also right that the tenants should try to observe the rules. We should not bind ourselves to supply them milk, provisions, etc., nor to keep watch to protect their residences. We may supply them milk if we can spare any. In brief, I see no harm in letting the buildings to these new tenants on the same condition on which Budhabhai lives as our neighbour. I see that we shall have to narrow the Mandir's field. That is also to the good. I have written this after only a moment's reflection; you should, therefore, fill in the details which may have been left out. Discuss the matter with Mahadev who is there.

I am surprised by Mahavir Poddar's letter. He himself had asked for more khadi to be sent. I will write to him. Meanwhile, don't send him any more khadi now. You should tell him that it was at my instance that you had sent him what you did.

There is a wire from Mahadev today saying that he has written a letter. I shall think over the matter after I receive the letter. I will not force even him to remain. That would not be for his good. Only those who will remain even after others have left should think of staying on. Do not discuss even this among yourselves. We have discussed things long enough. I suppose you have read

the story of the Pandavas' final journey. One brother after another became exhausted. It is a wonderful story. In our Ashram, too, those who get exhausted will remain behind. Nor will it be that those who get exhausted are on a lower level and the others on a higher. Everyone should act according to his strength. Before you take in more cows, ask Parnerkar what his mental state is. If he is unperturbed and if he has courage, he may certainly have more cattle.

I am not at all disturbed by reading about the theft of yarn, etc. I have not been foolish enough to hope that the Chhaganlal episode will set everything right immediately.

I send you the tour programme. Show it to Mahadev.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5559

252. *TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN*

TENALI,
April 20, 1929

MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT
MADHUBANI

YOUR WIRE. IF WEAKNESS PERSISTS YOU MUST RETIRE AT ONCE AMBALAL'S FACTORY OR SUCH OTHER PLACE AS MAY BE ADVISABLE. CONSULT RAJENDRABABU OR LAKSHMIBABU IF FORMER UNAVAILABLE. REPORT FINAL DECISION BEZWADA.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5365. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9421

253. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 20, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I had your two letters yesterday. And now I have your wire. I am not going to Allahabad on 14th May. I am not leaving Andhra till 22nd May and then I reach Bombay on 23rd, leave it on 28th for the Ashram which I do not leave till June 10th at least. So from 23rd May you can join me whenever you like.

It is unfortunate that you have to break up the Ashram before it has taken root. But you can't work against your natural limitations. The seed sown will bear fruit. You must not wear yourself out. More we shall discuss when we meet. I fancy that Ambalalbhai's factory will suit you. But if it does not, you must go elsewhere, Santiniketan if that would suit. Otherwise you can be sent to Matheran where Mathuradas is staying. Use the wire freely.

About milk, you should either use Nestle's condensed milk or unsweetened milk or Horlicks malted milk. The latter is claimed to possess all the qualities of fresh milk save I suppose the vitamins which you get from uncooked leafy vegetables.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5366. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9422

254. BOYCOTT AS POPULAR EDUCATION

I

An ordinary man hardly has any idea how much popular education is implied in the boycott of foreign cloth. Bhai Jethalal Govindji who is working in Bijolia writes to me from time to time his experiences of the work being done there in this direction. I give below a summary of his ideas so as to make clear to the readers the meaning of the above statement.

> The boycott of foreign cloth will succeed only when the twenty-two crores of our peasants begin to use khadi. And to convert them to the use of khadi means to explain to them the science of khadi, to show them the advantages of self-help

and to teach them the entire process of khadi production. For this we need volunteers, mobile schools and preparation and distribution of booklets describing the processes of spinning, carding, etc.

I have only given a summary. Let the reader himself fill in the details and imagine the amount of popular education inherent in the boycott programme.

Who is to impart this education? What place would educationists accord this in their scheme of education? English-oriented educationists who have to sustain the present regime will certainly give it no place. It is then for the nationalist-minded educationists who wish for the establishment of a Kisan-raj in India to take up the idea and make it the pivot of their activity. If this premise is sound, it is up to the national schools and colleges to arrange for the kind of education mentioned above. That is to say, they should undertake to train workers for its propagation. And this training should become for national workers their A.B.C.

All science is interesting. He who says that such and such a science is interesting while the others are not does not know the meaning of science. There is a geat difference in merely knowing to do a thing and in knowing its why and wherefore. A tanner knows how to tan the hide and give it colour but that does not make him a chemist. A chemist finds delight in his science, is crazy about it. The tanner has merely a mechanical knowledge of the processes handed down to him from his forefathers; he performs those processes and earns his living. But if he feels so inclined, he will willingly give up the trade and find some other way of making a living. It is the same with other trades. A scientist however can derive all the joy from his particular science, can go on making new discoveries and improving the science. This difference is at present clearly marked between weaving as a trade and weaving as a science. Maganlal Gandhi died thinking about this every hour of the day and ever inventing something new. Lakshmidas can think of nothing else but this. If he were to be removed to other surroundings, he would feel suffocated like fish out of water. Jethalal Govindji can take interest in no other work and gently upbraids me for giving my time to other activities. Mirabehn, in spite of her indifferent health, has buried herself in Bihar villages and is trying to discover the potentialities of the old type of spinning-wheel and other implements. I can cite many other such instances. But our Vidyapith will not recognize these activities, for the requisite atmosphere is lacking. If a worker like Kaka showed himself inclined to recognize them, he

would lose his reputation and the learned members of the Vidyapith would feel ashamed to be found in his company. At the most they would recognize him as an expert carpenter. I don't wish to blame anybody for this. For it is impossible to change human nature under compulsion. People are not yet ready to look on weaving as a science and to systematize it.

It is not laid down that every science shall be pursued everywhere. The inhabitants of the Sahara do not know the science of navigation. Similarly, crores in India do not know that horse-racing is a science and many consider it evil. But many books have been written on it and it has its own terminology. The people of the Sahara would develop an interest in the science of navigation and assign it a place in their education if the Sahara were to have water and the people wished to use it for commerce, if they saw their destiny tied with it. Once our people begin to appreciate the great power of the charkha, writers and thinkers would also be drawn to it. They would then begin to see in it poetry and art and utility and a great deal more.

Our national schools and colleges have to perform a double task. They have to work at the charkha themselves and also to create a favourable atmosphere for it in society. In a period of transition, national education has to be of this kind. Society is drawn to any innovation that helps to sustain it. To my mind, the greatest task which our national institutions or vidyapiths have to fulfil in India is to formulate the science of the charkha and to make it interesting.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-4-1929

255. H. E. THE VICEROY'S IRE

In his latest action, Vithalbhai Patel has shown uncommon courage and alertness. Legislatures never had any attraction for me. Today I find them more disagreeable than ever. They have aggravated hostility between Hindus and Muslims and selfishness among leaders. And yet, if anybody's entry into the Legislature has been illustrious, Vithalbhai's was. Whatever precious gifts he had, he poured out as President of the Central Legislative Assembly and so added to India's glory. I have already written about this in *Young India*.[1] Mahadev may have given a translation of it in this issue; hence, I shall not write much about it here.

[1] *Vide* p. 234.

But by a single word the Viceroy has negatived one object of Vithalbhai's ruling. The President ruled that the Public Safety Bill could not be taken up by the Legislative Assembly. So the Viceroy, through his special powers, issued it as an ordinance. He has thereby proved the futility of the legislatures.

Legislative Assemblies and such other bodies are like toys in the hands of the rulers. As long as they wish, they play with them and, when they please no longer, they wreck them. Swaraj can never be won by means of such playthings.

The second object of the President—which was to prove that the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are useless—has been fully achieved. Vithalbhai's ruling has doubly proved that the power conferred on the people was ineffective at a time of crisis. Had the Reforms been real, Vithalbhai would not have to give his ruling; the Viceroy's action proved that they were hollow.

This incident has established the people's weakness too. The President of the Central Legislative Assembly represents India; he represents the voters, which in turn means India. Hence, the insult to Vithalbhai is an insult to India. Had Vithalbhai power behind him, the Viceroy would never have been able to take the step he took. Knowing that the people have no power, the Viceroy has been able to issue the Public Safety Bill as an ordinance over the head of the President.

People can show their strength in two ways: through bombs and brute force, or through soul-force, that is, by constructive work. Constructive work is a symbol of soul-force and of faith in it. Brute force does not need organization, which is indispensable for constructive work and soul-force. Hence, brute force can never be the people's power. Soul-force alone represents the people's power. Constructive work ensures the organization of popular bodies big and small. This thing is as clear as daylight, and yet workers behave as if they had not fully understood it. Who can deny that, if the boycott of foreign cloth was achieved this instant, Vithalbhai would gain strength and the insult to him would be wiped out? Who will deny that, if the liquor booths were closed down now, its impact would not be felt? These things cannot succeed without the people's unity; their success will be an ocular proof of soul-force.

Why not have civil disobedience, impatient readers might ask. Has not the Congress said that civil disobedience is impossible without this year's constructive programme? I am sure no one will believe that the people who are sleeping this year will wake up and be ready for satyagraha next year.

So, if we wish to fight by means of soul-force, the Congress programme alone is the best reply to the Viceroy's insult to Vithalbhai. Will Gujarat, if not the other provinces too, realize this simple thing and make others see it?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-4-1929

256. REGRETTABLE IF TRUE

Last month in Calcutta Kavi Hansraj had called upon Gujaratis to boycott foreign cloth. One of these Gujarati brothers writes:[1]

I feel that those who gave up their caps should not have taken advantage of the liberality of the Marwari friend. There are no Gujaratis in Calcutta who cannot pay for a khadi cap. But if the teachers and pupils egged on by them took the khadi caps free of cost, having hidden their foreign caps under their arms, it is nothing but theft. It is wrong for anyone to do this. But for teachers and pupils to do it is inexcusable. I hope there is some exaggeration in the above account. If there is none, those who have committed the offence should donate money exceeding the cost of a khadi cap for khadi propaganda and should take a pledge never to do such a thing again, and thus atone for it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-4-1929

257. MERCHANTS AND KHADI

A member of the Spinners' Association writes:[2]

There is no doubt that ultimately merchants will have to adopt khadi; but if they have not yet taken to selling khadi, the fault does not lie with the khadi workers. The merchant class is susceptible to temptation and is timid. Hence khadi cannot attract it all at once. Nowadays, only people imbued with the spirit

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had reported that Birla's Khadi Bhandar had offered to give a white khadi cap to anyone who discarded his foreign cap, and that some teachers and pupils had hidden their caps under their arms and received khadi caps.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had endorsed Mathuradas Purushottam's suggestion about making khadi cheap and added that certain varieties of it be sold at standard prices everywhere like postcards, merchants being paid a commission.

of selflessness and patriotism take up khadi. A merchant does not generally show a spirit of altruism in his trade. Hence a merchant's altruism ends with his doing charity, etc., in such a way as not to place his business in jeopardy. But it is only when the merchants are moved by true patriotism that they will take up the khadi trade.

We must, however, admit that there is a difficulty in their way. The manner in which they conduct their trade at present will not do in the khadi trade. As no consideration is given to the good of the buyer in present-day business, the merchant regards himself for the most part as free from any moral obligations. If this code is applied to khadi, khadi will perish. Hence only merchants with a saintly nature can trade in khadi. An average merchant will not earn much from the sale of khadi. A merchant who does ordinary business hopes to earn money quickly, whereas khadi merchants have to content themselves with merely making a living. A trader in ordinary cloth has a fixed line and has standard varieties, whereas a khadi merchant has to hit upon new ways every day. Hence we cannot expect many merchants to engage in khadi trade at present. The few merchants who trade in khadi know that they have to labour hard in order to succeed.

Hence those who work in that field at present are themselves imperfect and yet are in a position to do propaganda. The wonder is that, though imperfect, they have been keeping the flag of khadi flying.

I still do not feel that Shri Mathuradas Purushottam's suggestion is a bad one. It does not require many men being trained. From the letters I have received I know that many who know tailoring are ready to undertake tailoring of khadi clothes. The difficulty in organizing this work is the paucity of organizers. Only if one devotes oneself wholly to that work, can it be done. I believe that Shri Mathuradas's suggestion will bear fruit some day.

Attempts are being made to standardize certain varieties of khadi, but the present correspondent and others should know that there is a limit to this. Khadi is not produced in factories, but in millions of homes and hence its yarn is not uniform; therefore, there will always be variation in its quality. That there are variations is not a matter for regret. That which has no distinctiveness and individuality is no art. There is bound to be the impress of some hand on every hank of yarn. This is impossible in the case of machine-made yarn.

Hence the utility of the letter consists in the two suggestions concerning the spread of the idea of swadeshi or that of khadi and the adoption of khadi by merchants. Still, the other points in

it testify to the correspondent's love of khadi and since these ideas might have occurred also to others they have been published and discussed here.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-4-1929

253. HELPLESS CONDITION OF WOMEN

I

Here is a summary[1] of what a young man writes:

There must be many such pitiable cases in Hindu society. There can be no instant remedy. There are some conditions which have to be put up with. What strikes me in such a case is this: if any relative of the girl wishes to help her, he should do so resolutely. If the husband, though a boy, has sense he should make use of his connection with the girl, which was brought about without his consent, in educating her, should treat her as a sister and find a husband for her. I know one can scarcely expect so much wisdom in a boy of fifteen. But in writing this I have in view a number of young men of that age who are altruistically inclined. A third way, that of educating public opinion, of bringing to light such ill-assorted unions, is of course there. If we do this, even if the unhappy girl cannot be saved, there will at least be fewer cases of this kind.

What has been said above implies the need for truth, fearlessness, firmness and daring. Only if we accept that that is not marriage which does not answer to the definition of a marriage can we go ahead. He who is afraid of his community or of poverty, and so on, can never bring about reforms. Reformers have had to die, to suffer, to starve; they have been maligned. No true reforms have been possible in the world without this.

II

A doctor writes:[2]

This doctor is to be congratulated. As he writes, many doctors, tempted by a fee, assist in the crime at such times. But I

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had said that a boy of 15 having married a girl of 17 had developed a dislike for her and wanted to remarry. Since it was difficult for the wife to remarry, what was she to do?

[2] The letter is not translated here. The doctor had said that a man had approahced him with the information that a widow was with child as a result of his intimacy with her, and requested him to give him some drug to induce abortion. The doctor had refused.

do not write this to set down the duty of doctors. The above letter furnishes yet another picture of the helpless condition of women. The remedy is what has been suggested above. The present-day society which violates ahimsa in the name of ahimsa does not hesitate to perpetrate cruelties of such kind; it constantly slaughters the cow that is woman. Under the guise of protecting the purity of women, it places all sorts of restrictions on them and, tortured by oppression, they, like others, secretly commit crimes. No one can be kept pure by force. It is desirable that, instead of men and women committing sin in private, they should humbly acknowledge their weaknesses, remarry and thus save themselves from ignominy. But who would help a woman? Men have cleared a way for themselves. As an atonement for their crime in imposing oppressive laws on women, men as a class should help women. It is useless to expect this of elders whose ideas have already become fixed. It is possible for youths, acting within certain limits, to help women. Ultimately, it is women who will bring about the emancipation of women. There are not many such women in India yet. When the youths rush to help women in a big way, there will be awakening among them; and from their ranks will rise heroines dedicated to service.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 21-4-1929

259. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

Silence Day, April 22, 1929

SISTERS,

Today we are in a village which is without any facilities and, therefore, I shall have to get ready with the post early. Even after that, the letters will have to be carried to the post office which is at a distance of eight miles. There is a lot of discomfort here, but with it I get plenty of new experiences. Contributions to the fund continue to come in.

You know that some of the women here are very good at spinning. Khadi is very much more in use among women here than in Gujarat. There is no *purdah* and no custom of keeping the face veiled, so that the women are strong in body. They also work very hard.

They have filled my collection bag with jewellery. Many of them give away their rings, some their bangles and a few

their necklaces. I must have collected about one lakh rupees till now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–1: Ashramni Behnone

260. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Silence Day, April 22, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. I have been more pained by your decision than by the events themselves, for I have built high hopes on you. Your duty at this time is to remain in the Ashram. If you understand that duty, doing it, that is, living in the Ashram, should give you peace. If, however, you think it your duty to leave the Ashram, by all means do so. I may try to explain your duty to you but I ought not to force you to do anything against your inclination. Remain if you possibly can. Send me a wire about your decision. I will accept whatever you do as done in obedience to your inner voice and keep my peace of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine—Part I, p. 51

261. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

[Before *April 23, 1929*][1]

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

Two letters from you are pending with me.

It is good to use some salt or chalk while brushing the teeth.

It is good if you do not take bread and milk on *Ekadashi* as a religious practice or even just for the sake of your health.

Let me have your height and chest measurements, normal and expanded. I hope you practise breath-control daily.

[1] The source has the date May 13, 1929, written in English in a hand other than Gandhiji's. It is clear from the text, however, that the letter was written before Gandhiji visited Ellore, which was on April 23.

What is your occupation? Give me particulars about this and let me know how much time you are required to devote to it, how much time you can spare, whether or not you can go out, how far you have studied, whether at present you cohabit with your wife, etc. You will address your reply to Ellore [so as to][1] reach me there soon. This is because I shall be touring around Ellore for about five days.

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6781

262. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

April 24, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I got your letter. You yourself should tell Nanabhai what you wish to. Do not draw away Venilal and thus obstruct Nanabhai's work. I shall have nothing to say if Nanabhai can spare him.

Have you returned in good health? Did you go to Abyssinia?

If you had any experiences that I should know about, write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2860. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

263. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, POTUNOORU

April 24, 1929

I thank you for the purses that you have given for the Khadi Fund and the Lajpat Rai Fund. You asked me to lay the foundation stone for the library[2] here and I am glad to do it because I am sure it is going to serve a useful purpose. I wish that you use it profitably for ever. You have given me money and jewels for Khadi Fund but I ask you to wear only khaddar and leave all foreign cloth. If you had done so there would have been no necessity for these collections. I believe there are no drunkards here. Toddy, brandy and other drinks are devils and demons. Just now

[1] The original is punched here.
[2] Vivekananda Library

I came to know that there is a law here among the *Panchamas* that if anyone is known to be drunk he is asked to pay a fine of Rs. 5. That is an excellent thing.

He then appealed to them to remove the evil curse of untouchability and child-marriage and said that they could not afford to slight even a single detail in their programme if they were determined on attaining swaraj.[1]

The Hindu, 27-4-1929

264. SPEECH AT GUNDUKOLANU[2]

April 24, 1929

Khaddar is not dear at any price. If a man dear and near to you is imprisoned, will you not try your utmost to set him free at any cost? A spirit of sacrifice is necessary if you want to attain swaraj. Khaddar should be used with the spirit of sacrifice. In saying that khaddar is dear, it means that you want swaraj without any price. Foreign cloth is cheap, you say. Even if it is a free gift it is not worth having. Behind it there is the evil of your bondage and your weakness. Get rid of it and depend on your own self for your clothing. In any case throw not your money to be carried away from your motherland.

The Hindu, 27-4-1929

265. A SCHOOLMISTRESS'S TESTIMONY

From the letters received from America about the great success of Sarojinidevi's mission I reproduce another from Miss Dorothy Waldo, the Associate Principal of Dana Hall School, Wellesley, Massachusetts.[3]

Young India, 25-4-1929

[1] At the end of the meeting a silver trowel was auctioned for Rs. 30.

[2] Gandhiji reached the village at 8.15 p.m. after crowded engagements. Before he retired for the night a number of villagers repeatedly requested him to say a few words. Someone from the audience remarked that khadi was too costly for them.

[3] The letter is not reproduced here.

266. FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

Duty of Local Bodies

Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram has addressed a circular letter to the local bodies from which I take the following:

> The local self-governing bodies in India can render substantial help in the following ways:
>
> 1. By imposing a prohibitive octroi, terminal tax or other rate on all foreign cloth imported within the local area. Where the existing municipal or Local Boards Acts do not permit this, the local representatives on the Provincial Legislature should be approached to have the law suitably amended.
>
> 2. By exempting hand-spun and hand-woven khadi from octroi, terminal tax and every other local rate.
>
> 3. By making all its cloth purchases in hand-spun and hand-woven khadi irrespective of its so-called costliness.

It will be interesting to know how many local bodies have responded to this appeal and to what extent.

Test for Congress Committees

The F.C.B. Committee has circularized Congress Committees about progress of boycott in their provinces. But from the latest F.C.B. Bulletin issued by the Committee I observe that many Committees have ignored the circular, some have sent perfunctory reports. If the Congress Committees are efficient bodies, there should be no difficulty about getting regular and encouraging reports. During my tour I find that the masses are ready for boycott if the natural leaders will organize them for it. Information has been sought on the following heads:

> 1. Amount collected towards the boycott fund.
>
> 2. Average number of boycott volunteers at work during the week.
>
> 3. Number of houses visited by the volunteers during the week.
>
> 4. Number of persons who promised to boycott foreign cloth.
>
> 5. Value of foreign cloth annually consumed within the local area concerned.
>
> 6. Value of such cloth boycotted as a result of item (3) or other propaganda.
>
> 7. Number of boycott meetings, processions, Nagar Kirtan parties, or khadi bazaars organized.

8. Value of khadi sold.

9. Number of new charkhas set in motion for hand-spinning by the efforts of the Committee.

10. Number of Municipalities and District Local Boards which have not so far been able to adopt the suggestions made by this Committee at page 4 of the second F.C.B. Bulletin.

This part of the Bulletin concludes:

> Besides the weekly reports, Congress Committees must send consolidated reports of work done up to 30th April 1929, as the 1st of May is fixed for the National Stock-taking. These reports must reach this office latest 6th May. Reports which are not received in time will have to be omitted from the general reports which this Committee will submit to the Working Committee in the last week of May.

It is clear that this information should be in the possession of the All-India Congress Committee which meets on 24th May.

The Seven Cities

How easy the boycott is if it is properly organized one sees from the Bulletin which shows that Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, Madras, Delhi, Amritsar and Cawnpore are the cities that chiefly import foreign cloth. The Bulletin proceeds:

> If the local workers in these cities bestir themselves vigorously, much may be achieved by them. The merchants have been formally approached in some of the centres (it is understood in Calcutta and Cawnpore). It is hoped their example will be followed by the other cities. In view of the move taken in Cawnpore, it is high time that Delhi and Amritsar workers also took effective steps to come into a line with Cawnpore.

Its Effect

The Bulletin quotes the following from Tattersall as showing that even the little that has been achieved is telling on the Manchester market:

> *Cloth manufacturers are feeling the absence of practicable demand for India. . . . Manchester cannot be active when Indian buyers are holding aloof.*
>
> More inquiry (for Manchester goods) from China and the Straits is reported. *India is still lagging behind . . . for fear of the boycott movement.*

Production of Khadi

Some nervous patriots are already raising the question how khadi can meet the deficit that must be caused by a successful boycott of foreign cloth. The question is no doubt relevant. But

it is easily answered. Khadi alone has an infinite capacity for expansion, if there is a demand for it. Every hamlet is a potential spinning mill requiring little capital to set it up. The wheels can be fitted up in no time. The skill and the time are there running to waste for want of use. And when there is a general and insistent demand for khadi, the petty trader who is today slaving for the foreign cloth market will deem it a privilege to work for khadi. It will then pay him to work for the additional manufacture of khadi. Moreover it should be remembered that the market will not be called upon to stock khadi for the millions, even as biscuit manufacturers are not expected to supply the millions with their biscuits. Once khadi becomes current coin, the toiling millions will spin their own yarn and get it woven by the village weaver as they used to do before. And in this very natural decentralization there will be the least fraud perpetrated. What is therefore wanted is for national workers to learn the technique of khadi and organize the villages as the occasion arises. As soon as the khadi atmosphere is established in the country, there will be a demand from the villagers for organization. Thus khadi has in it a capacity for self-production whereas mill-cloth has not. No doubt when the general demand for khadi rises, for the time being the public will have to be satisfied with coarse khadi. The A.I.S.A. has found from experience that the manufacture of fine khadi is a matter of slow education. The ordinary woman will easily spin coarse counts, but she requires patient and persevering tuition to induce her to spin fine counts. The evolution of khadi from coarse to fine during the past seven years has been most encouraging. But it will have to suffer temporary suspension when the demand for khadi becomes imperative. And when it does, I have no doubt that in that wave of enthusiasm people will shed the fastidious taste they show now but will gratefully receive any khadi they can get so long as it is genuine hand-spun.

Young India, 25-4-1929

267. THE 'EVE'

> We belong to an Empire beside whose fame that of Rome sinks to a shadow.
>
> We control more than a fourth of the world's land area and a quarter—460 million—of its 1,852,000,000 inhabitants. 300,000 of our people rule 333,373,000 natives in India, Ceylon, British North Borneo, British Malaya, Palestine, Iraq and elsewhere in Asia—an area of over two million square miles. Put that in your pipe and smoke it ! ! !
>
> Sixty million natives are controlled by 706,000 British in Africa in an area of 3,820,000 square miles. Five millions in Canada and over six in Australia occupy another 7,278,000 square miles of the world's surface. . . .
>
> Ours, the greatest mercantile marine the world has ever known, carries more than a billion yards of cotton cloth and more than twelve million pounds worth of machinery annually to India, from which country British shareholders, creditors and officials draw some 30 million pounds a year ! ! !
>
> Thank God for the British Navy and drink to His Majesty the King!

The foregoing is a condensation[1] from an article headed "Cheer Up", printed in *Britannia* of 15th February last. The article has been sent by a courteous English correspondent with the following footnote:

> If Mr. Blinking Gandhi saw this lot, he'd probably cut his throat on one of his own spinning-wheels.

I have decided not to cut my throat yet for a while. I want to live to see the spinning-wheel produce the whole of the billion yards of cloth that "the greatest mercantile marine the world has ever known" carries to India from England. Only, India has to wake from her torpor.

Young India, 25-4-1929

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

268. A NATIONAL DEFECT

Although we have the credit for being a personally clean people, we have little reason to be satisfied with that certificate. Our cleanliness, i.e., cleanliness compared to that of other nations is based upon the almost universal habit of taking the daily bath and of keeping our cottages clean and tidy. But I fear that it ends there. We purchase that cleanliness at the expense of our neighbours. Hence our villages are a dungheap and streets not walkable in spite of the fact that millions go barefoot. We do believe in removing dirt from our rooms but we also believe in throwing it in the street without regard to the well-being of society. We are clean as individuals but not as members of the society or the nation of which the individual is but a tiny part.

Whenever I travel in the South this serious shortcoming obtrudes itself on my attention and makes me feel most uncomfortable and sad. The evil is by no means peculiar to the South but it is in my opinion accentuated in the South. One does not see the defilement of rivers to the same extent in the other parts of India as in the South.

On 17th instant at 6 a.m. we left Bezwada for Guntur by motor. We had to cross the great Krishna river. The scene I have often painfully witnessed from the trains in the South now met my gaze at closer quarters. The car practically passed by hundreds of men and women evacuating themselves not many yards from the river bank. It is the stream in which people bathe and from which they drink. Here there was a breach of the code of decency and a criminal disregard of the most elementary laws of health. Add to this the economic waste of the precious manure, which they would be if these evacuations were made in a field and buried in the living surface of the earth and well mixed with loosened soil, instead of being filth and a danger to the health of the citizens, as they are when deposited on the river banks.

Here is work for the municipalities, if they will but do their primary duty of conserving the health of the citizens under their care. There is, I know, the custom of saying that these reforms must not be permitted to take the nation's attention away from the work of swaraj. I venture to submit that conservation of national sanitation is swaraj work and may not be postponed for a single day on any consideration whatsoever. Indeed if swaraj is to be had by peaceful methods it will only be attained by atten-

tion to every little detail of national life. Such work will promote cohesion among workers and create an indissoluble bond between them and the people — a bond necessary for the final overthrow of the existing system of government. The system depends for its existence upon the weaknesses of the nation. If there are no weaknesses to exploit, it will automatically cease to exist. A foreign government is like a foreign body in a diseased system. And even as for eradication of a foreign body the system has to be made healthy from within, so also for the removal of a foreign government, it is necessary to remove all the internal causes of diseases. Corporate insanitation is not the least of such diseases.

Any municipality tackling the evil of insanitation will have tough work before it, not by way of finding money for carrying out the reform but in the way of fighting colossal national prejudices and habits that have become second nature. It will therefore be good training in swaraj.

So far as the finance is concerned, the reform will not only cost little but it will ultimately be a source of wealth. I suggest that in this country it can be carried out only if the councillors will themselves take up the broom and the basket and not otherwise. The remedy is no doubt heroic, but it is cheap, efficient and capable of being immediately put into effect. When the city fathers are in earnest about the reform, they will be able to command the willing service of numberless volunteers.

Young India, 25-4-1929

269. *B.I.S.N. CO.'S DENIAL*

Whilst I am touring in the villages of Andhra Desha, I see the following Free Press message in *The Hindu*:

> The B.I.S.N.Co., in a statement to *The Englishman*, denies the allegations made by Mahatma Gandhi, who, referring to the sanitary arrangements of the boats plying to Rangoon, termed them as 'criminal disregard of the welfare and feelings of the human cargo'.[1] The Company says that Mahatma Gandhi thought that a deck passenger enjoyed second-class privileges. The space termed by Mahatma Gandhi as blackhole was the extra space placed at the disposal of the deck passengers with the hatches open for allowing ventilation. As regards the sanitary arrangements, the Company says there are sufficient men to keep the latrines, etc., clean,

[1] *Vide* p. 227.

and no complaint has been sent to the Commander about any inconvenience. There are arrangements for hospital but Mahatma Gandhi and his friends occupied it (?) on their return journey from Rangoon without permission.

I wish I had the full text of the statement[1] before me. But if the Free Press telegram is a fair summary of the B.I.S.N. Company's agent's statement, I am sorry for it. Instead of setting about correcting the disgraceful state of affairs, the agent has chosen to refute my very mild condemnation of the treatment of deck passengers based on personal observations. I hope I am not so stupid as to expect second-class privileges for deck passengers but I do resent the unnatural gulf that separates the deck passenger from the saloon passenger. The deck passenger may not claim the luxurious conveniences provided for saloon passengers but he is entitled, whether he asks for it or not, to complete sanitary arrangements, and ample and clean accommodation. It should be possible for a person used to cleanly conditions to travel as deck passenger without running the risk of being ill or without having partially to starve as I had to starve for want of proper latrine arrangements.

A 'blackhole' may not be claimed as 'extra space placed at the disposal of deck passengers'. I suggest that deck passengers should be prevented from occupying space not intended for human habitation. I admit that the ordinary deck passenger will take up any space to which he may have access in order to avoid the feeling of being cramped and in order to have some freedom of movement.

That the Company has sufficient men to keep the latrines, etc., clean does not prove that they do keep them clean. My charge is that the latrines were not kept clean, that the half doors were in a state of disrepair, making it impossible to lock them from within and that they were not enough for the number of passengers taken on board.

I had hoped that the Company's agent would not resort to the trick common in such cases of saying that "no complaint has been sent to the Commander about any inconvenience". When the class of passengers who travel deck learn the art of complaining of inconvenience, there would be no occupation for men like me. It is unfortunate that we as a nation will not air our discontent or do it clumsily and that we will put up with incon-

[1] For the full text of the statement, *vide* pp. 322-3.

veniences which a human being should never tolerate. What is worse, I admit that the ordinary deck passenger has no sense of sanitation. But that to me makes it all the more necessary for a carrying company to be extra careful to ensure sanitation on its boats or trains. The last statement in this extraordinary denial, if it correctly represents the original, is a pure libel. I am not in the habit of occupying places to which I am not entitled; such practice is contrary to the habit of a lifetime. I could not even have unconsciously occupied a space reserved as hospital accommodation, for it was allotted to me and my friends by the Company's officers. There was thus no question of occupying anything without permission. Let me now describe what space I was permitted to occupy. It was the open space on the bow between two lifeboats and surrounded on all sides by passengers. Nor were I and my company the only passengers on this space. Moreover I observed that the space was used by the officers for lifebuoy practice by the crew. There was no notice anywhere to show that this open space was reserved as hospital accommodation. Let me add too that there was a continuous shower of coal dust blowing over our heads the whole of the three days of the voyage. It was difficult to keep anything clean. If this was hospital accommodation, it reflects little credit either on the Company or the medical officer who would be satisfied with an accommodation dangerous even for a healthy person and almost fatal for patients in some illnesses. Needless to say there could be no privacy in an open space like this which the passengers and officers must frequently cross and recross. I have seen hospital accommodation for deck passengers on other boats. This has been a properly fitted cabin with reserved latrine accommodation for patients. Neither I nor my companions noticed anything of this character on s.s. *Aronda*. Lastly, if I had usurped this space, surely it was the duty of the captain and the officers to draw my attention to the trespass. I expect the Company to withdraw the libel and apologize for it or substantiate the charge so recklessly made. Surely it will pay the Company to right the wrong instead of bolstering it by vain denials.

Young India, 25-4-1929

270. IN ANDHRA DESHA [-II]

The reader will find elsewhere the second week's itinerary and collections. Though I am gaining more and more insight into the village life in Andhra, the tour continues to be too giddy for my liking. I see the villages and yet miss seeing them for the mad rush through space. It is good no doubt to make collections but to do so at the sacrifice of the richer village experience is not good enough. But it would be foolish for me to grumble at the appointments made by the devoted co-workers who are wearing themselves out to make the tour a financial success and to enable the message of khadi to be delivered to the largest number of villages possible during the seven weeks' tour. In my speeches to the villagers, I am copying the example of the late Sir Surendranath Banerji who, when he was asked why he delivered, during his English visit about 1890, the same speech to almost all his audiences, said: 'Because I want to give to all my best. Having conceived my first speech to the best of my ability, why should I give second best to the others?' So my message to the villagers is identical:

1. Boycott foreign cloth,
2. Wear khadi manufactured in your own villages,
3. Banish untouchability,
4. Promote unity between Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians and others,
5. Banish drink, let the village elders go to the drinkers and reason with them to give up drink, and
6. Avoid internal quarrels, but when they do occur, adjust them through voluntary village panchayats.

It is at big centres where 'politicians' flourish that I enter into discussions and touch upon other matters.

Thus at Masulipatam I had occasion to dwell upon several contentious matters including those arising out of the addresses that were presented. But the majority of addresses were loaded with nothing but adjectives in praise of me. Such praise can do no good to the reciters and may possibly do harm to the receiver if he seriously believes himself to be all that the reciters make him. I therefore warned my admirers against framing their addresses in hyperboles. I told them that the best form of praise was to adopt in one's own conduct what one found praiseworthy in another. The Andhra workers I have mostly found to be res-

ponsive. The hint was quickly taken up. The addresses in the Guntur district have been for the most part colourless. There is yet one step further to be taken. They should contain detailed information on the following points: Number of men and women in each village or in the area covered by the particular address; number of Hindus, Muslims and others; number of 'untouchables', their conditions; number of Congress members male and female; number of people given to drink; number of spinners, their hours of work, earnings, quantity and count of yarn turned out per month, quantity of cotton grown, if any, whether spinners do their own carding, number of looms weaving only hand-spun, weaving both hand-spun and mill-spun and number weaving only mill-spun yarn; weight of khadi manufactured per month, rates of wages paid for each process; number of national schools and attendance, and such other information as may be of use from the national standpoint. Addresses giving accurate information on the points mentioned would be a record I should prize and treasure. They would be for me a mine of valuable information.

I must now give a condensed summary of my address at Masulipatam already referred to before. It was delivered on the Jallianwala Bagh Day.[1]

Young India, 25-4-1929

271. *TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN*

BHIMAVARAM,
April 25, 1929

MIRABAI
KHADI DEPOT
MUZAFFARPUR

GLAD YOU HAVE FREED YOURSELF ASHRAM WORRY. ARE YOU GOING AMBALAL'S FACTORY? WIRE REPLY BANUKU.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5367. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9423

[1] For the text, *vide* pp. 238-43.

272. SPEECH AT TADEPALLIGUDEM

April 25, 1929

Gandhiji thanked them all and said, in the course of his speech, that after they had all given their bit to the poor millions of their motherland he hoped they were prepared for some more work than mere offering of money and jewels. He had a belief in him and a belief in Andhra Desha and he knew, that if he spoke in that country they were sure to listen to his words. First, he would mention a small matter to them. That was: they should not have put their addresses in costly frames. For, they must remember that the cost spent on those frames, made their help to *Daridranarayana* so much the less and thereby shortened the relief to that extent. They should, every one of them, give and give and still go on giving and giving in service to their *Daridranarayana*, whose blessing would come to them in their giving. They must give not only in money but also in service. They should give more and more, if they would receive more and even without expecting to receive they should still give, for therein lay their salvation and the salvation of their country. Considering their profits and their position, the mills of that place had given very little. Were their hearts so little? Why should they give? Because, the khadi movement meant a small meal to starving millions and the more they give for the khadi cause, the greater would be the food for those hungry stomachs, and if they went on giving in service, which meant their continuous wearing of khadi clothes, their poor sisters and brothers in the villages would keep on having their meal and work for them to give them clothes. The cloth the poor wove and gave them, carried with them a fine aroma of gratitude and prayer, but the mill-cloth of Manchester brought with it greed and subjection. Everyone knew of Andhra khaddar. People of Bombay were demanding Andhra khaddar of high counts. So why should not Andhra khaddar clothe all India?

When I don't see even one woman here wearing khaddar today my heart faints.

The Hindu, 29-4-1929

273. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We are in an obscure place where there is little hope of my getting the post. This is the third day in succession on which I have received no post. Where indeed can it be delivered to me? We spend the day at one place and the night at another. All of us, however, keep good health. We have no end of experiences of all sorts. Tell Chi. Kanti that if Manu wants to go to Balibehn he may send her in some reliable company. I will write to him afterwards.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5406

274. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

April 27, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have the satisfaction that I have been getting letters from you, however uninteresting. If you wish, you may complain of absence of letters from me. If, however, you could realize the conditions under which I have been touring at present, you would pity me and not complain that I do not write to you. And, in any case, you do have my letters in the form of *Young India* and *Navajivan*.

Even today I am writing this at 5.30 in the morning during the spare time before beginning the tour. Every day it begins at 6 o'clock in the morning and we camp at 9 o'clock. It is resumed at 5.30 p.m., and we camp again at 8 p.m., and occasionally at 9 or 10 or even 11 o'clock. In these conditions, I sometimes do not get even the day's post. This tour will be over on May 22.

I am accompanied by Ba, Prabhavati (daughter of Brajkishore Babu), Pyarelal, Imam Saheb and Subbiah. I am in good health and seem to do well at present on a diet which contains no milk. I cannot say what will happen if I fall ill.

As time passes, you will all realize more and more Sastriji's worth. As long as he was there, he was a shield to you. The

Government here will do nothing. By his personal influence, Sastriji did what he could.

You must have learnt about the painful affair of . . .[1] You should be very careful. If you have to face starvation, do it cheerfully but never accept even a cowrie which is not yours. Know that it is theft to keep a debt unpaid.

If you both enjoy peace there, do not be eager to return here at the cost of the work there. Sastriji told me that *Indian Opinion* though indifferently run certainly had its value. I hope you remember that it is 24 years old.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4753

275. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

April 27, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

After I had written the postcard yesterday and the last clearance was over, I got two days' post together. I will write nothing to Gangabehn. I have still not been able to form a mental picture of what has happened.

Whatever you have done about the women, the present position is better than that which existed. There was no question of your taking the blame upon yourself. I had assumed the sole responsibility for the change. You need not, therefore, give way to despair. If anyone should feel despair it is I, but I am not likely to do so. Though I see my deficiencies and my errors and realize that my inferences prove wrong, I don't feel despair because I know that there is no other way of progressing except to speak and act according to the light within us. I saw my defeat in regard to the women's section and wrote to you about the matter in a spirit of humility. If ever I embrace Ashram-sannyasa, that is, take a vow to live permanently in the Ashram I would again take courage in both hands and try to reimpose the old restrictions on the women's section, and being present there all the time I would certainly succeed in keeping them bound together. But alas! how can this ever be?

[1] The name is being omitted.

I wish that you should not yield to despair and should not needlessly blame yourself. Cast out the fear that perhaps you will fall and, instead, determine in your mind that you will not fall and be confident that you will succeed. If, none the less, you do fall, you may humbly admit your failure and do what may seem right at that time. If a person who has bound himself with a vow can give a hundred per cent guarantee about himself, he will no longer be a human being who has taken a vow but will have become God Himself. It is possible for a human being to rise to such a state, but history does not record the instance of any such person. Why should we die daily before we really die? Why should we fear violating a vow before we have really violated it? It should be enough if we do not take a single step which would lead to its violation. What is it about which you feel this fear every day? Does your fear relate to Ramabehn? Or to some other woman? Or merely to impure desire within you? Do you feel any other fear besides this?

You raise another question in your letter: Are you not morally falling by forcing yourself to live with me because of the strength of your love for me? The question is pertinent and was worth asking. If, while you live with me, you dwell on sense-pleasures in your mind and only outwardly give an impression to other people of being a man of self-control, you are certainly falling and it is your duty to leave me, even if the Ashram should go to ruin by your doing so.

> He who curbs the organs of action but allows the mind to dwell on the sense-objects — such a one, wholly deluded, is called a hypocrite.[1]

Think over this verse in our spiritual dictionary. If it applies to you in any measure, you ought to leave me in order to save yourself from hypocrisy. You know, don't you, that it is charged against me that this is the result of people living with me. The instance of . . .[2] can perhaps be cited in support of this charge. If, however, you control the senses outwardly, that is, physically, and are at the same time striving hard to control the mind too, and if living with me helps you in your striving, you should cling to the Mandir and to me like a spirit clinging to a human being possessed by it. You alone can know what your real state is.

> But he, O Arjuna, who, keeping all the senses under control of the mind, engages the organs in karmayoga, without attachment, that man excels.[3]

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 6

[2] The name is being omitted.

[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 7

This should be my state and yours and of everybody else's. But even such persons may fall. That is why, in the same chapter, Arjuna puts this question:

> Then what impels man to sin, O Varshneya, even against his will, as though by force compelled?[1]

Read Shri Krishna's reply to this and think over this. After that, read and think over the immortal dialogue between Arjuna and the Lord towards the end of the sixth chapter, and then do what you wish.

Narandas must have by now made up his mind. It will pain me if he leaves. But I have faith in him and believe that, whatever he does, he will do after mature deliberation.

I really believe that Jamnadas will not leave the school. If he leaves, however, I will bear that too.

It is no ordinary matter that the moral fall of . . .[2] has been brought to light. Because of faith in his purity, many persons had remained pure. It is not surprising that a good many should be shaken on his guilt being published. The event will have an effect on his brothers in one way or another. Prabhudas is pure and as frank-hearted as a child. The effect on him, therefore, seems to have been good. Narandas and Jamnadas are men of the world. I would not, therefore, be surprised if they are upset, though, of course, I had not thought that the effect would be such on them. I still hope that this effect will turn out to be temporary. . . .'s future conduct, too, will produce profound effects. Let us bathe him in the purest love.

I believe that now Santok will not leave the Ashram. By giving Rukhi in marriage to Banarsilal, she has displayed great courage, shrewdness, firmness and devotion to the memory of her husband, and made it certain that she cannot live anywhere else but in the Ashram. If you examine Maganlal's life, you will see that his path in life, too, was altogether uncommon. He hewed his way through rocks, without letting any of us know. His faults were Himalayan, but his virtues and his courage overshadowed them and made them seem like particles of dust. Do not compare yourself with Maganlal and feel dispirited in any way. Maganlal did his work, you have to do yours. "One's own dharma is the best for one, though seemingly without merit."[3] Maganlal's age has ended; we have now entered another.

[1] *Bhagavad Gita*, III. 36
[2] The name is being omitted.
[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, XVIII. 47

Have Navin and Dhiru left permanently or only for the summer holidays? Whatever it is, let us be content. Navin need not have gone for the holidays.

I do believe that there is much room yet for simplicity in our life at the Mandir. But I see that Kishorelal's analogy is incomplete. The children in Ville Parle may be living in great simplicity, but they are not imprisoned by the chain of rules and may, therefore, be looked upon as living without self-control. Theirs is enforced simplicity. The labourers living near the Ashram live in still greater simplicity, but their simplicity has no value. Though you and I take milk every day, we deliberately abstain from using many other things which are available to us and, therefore, our life is simpler than that of the labourers. This is the principle of the matter. If, however, we get conceited because of this and believe ourselves on a higher pedestal, we shall fall. Our duty is to emulate the involuntary simplicity of our friends, the labourers, and, till we have succeeded in reaching the ideal, to nurse the purer type of discontent in regard to ourselves.

Do not let it trouble you whether the Mandir will remain full or become deserted. Remember the reply which Janak gave when fire had broken out in Janakpuri. After we have done our best to protect the Mandir and left not a single remedy untried for the purpose, we can say: 'What matters it to us whether the Mandir goes up in flames or survives? It is His concern Who may destroy it with fire or save it, as He will.' Therefore, let them who wish to leave do so and bear separation from them.

It is midnight just now. Mosquitoes are plentiful. I have not covered the bed with a mosquito-net. I got up at 12.45, completed the diary and then started this letter at 12.55. I look at the watch now and it is exactly 2 o'clock. I had been thinking after I got your two letters yesterday, and this letter is the result. It is for you alone, but you are free to show it to anyone. I should like you to show it to Mahadev, etc. But I would not mind it even if you did not show it to anyone.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5407

276. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 27, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN SENIOR,

You seem to have stopped writing now. I must have letters from you, no matter whether they are foolish, whimsical, long or short, so long as you pour out your heart in them.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne, p. 24

277. SILENT SERVICE

I received the following letter[1] from Thakkar Bapa[2] during my Andhra tour.

I envy this priest of the Dheds and preceptor of the Bhils. We are of the same age, but Thakkar Bapa's body does not demand the comforts which my body does. I was somewhat priding myself on my capacity to withstand all the roaming about in Andhra and also having pity on myself. I used to be harsh on friends like Deshabhakta Venkatappayya and others for making me wander about so much. Then I received this letter which drove away my pride. Where is the comparison between camels on the Sind desert and a car with sleeping space on motorable though rough roads?

But I have not published this letter to show my envy. Seeing Thakkar Bapa's camel's saddle I cannot give up my tiny car. The desert of Sind cannot persuade me to forsake the easy roads of Andhra.

The object in publishing this letter is to point out what silent service is. This alone should be called true service. If we wish

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had given an account of his tour of the backward districts of Gujarat and Sind, as a member of a committee set up by the Bombay Government to serve the *Antyajas* and other backward communities. He felt that a separate Ashram was needed for the children of Bhils and Kolis where they would be taught the three R's, besides spinning, carding, weaving, etc.

[2] Amritlal Thakkar

to establish contacts with our brethren like the Bhils and others, we must take the cue from Thakkar Bapa. He likes the companionship only of the lame and the crippled; he cannot live without them. He finds comfort in following them. That is his vision of God; that is his food.

May Thakkar Bapa live long, may his heritage endure for ever and may his tribe increase! I learned of the Government committee only from this letter. It is excusable for him to be a member of even that committee. He remains detached even when he works on it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-4-1929

278. ABOUT THE MEERUT PRISONERS

A friend writes about the prisoners held in Meerut:[1]

The writer's attitude does not seem proper to me. The Congress is like the sun. The sun shines equally on those who condemn it and those who praise it. The Congress claims to represent the thirty crores. It may have only 300 members and yet it would serve the thirty crores and run to their help. It does not treat any Indian as an enemy but helps all when they get into difficulties. So in my view the question of friendship or enmity towards the Congress does not arise here. But in what manner can the Congress help the Meerut prisoners or others like them? The Congress can agitate for them, write about the matter. Their sufferings will rouse its wrath and, being more awakened it will win swaraj the sooner and open the locks of the prisoners' cells. But it will not engage lawyers for them. It has not given up non-co-operation altogether. Such prisoners should not bother about their defence. If they are jailed they should suffer imprisonment. If they themselves wish to engage lawyers, they may do as they please. If they cannot afford to do so and have friends, these may help them. Or, those who, though members of the Congress, believe in engaging lawyers in such cases may help in their individual capacity. Hence, it is my view that the Congress should not take the trouble of engaging lawyers and so on. Even if it wishes to do so, it lacks the strength to attend to

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had questioned the propriety of the Congress trying to help all prisoners equally, whether they believed in the Congress or opposed it.

all cases. We should have in the country lawyers like Manmohan Ghosh and Chittaranjan Das who can handle such cases gratis. It is their duty to take up such cases. The Congress should not have to pay lawyers' and doctors' fees at all.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-4-1929

279. PARENTS' OPPOSITION

A resident of Bombay writes:[1]

This opposition means that the parents wish to have swaraj free of cost. They do not want to put up with a single inconvenience, and yet they may be wanting swaraj. Or, perhaps, they do not even want it. So, if the resident of Bombay wishes it, he should humbly tolerate his parents' opposition and stick to khadi. A wearer of khadi simplifies his apparel to a great extent. When he does this, he saves himself laundry expenses because he washes his clothes himself. I do admit that, if no change is brought about, some more time will be required to wash khadi clothes. But a patriot does not take such difficulties into account. I too believe that khadi is at present costly. He who wishes to have it at a cheaper rate should himself spin. A man who gets frightened when intimidated by Europeans should, at least for ridding himself of such fear, wear khadi and travel first class, and if a wearer of khadi is not permitted to enter a Government school, he should abandon it. As long as there is in us fear of the Europeans and fondness for their institutions, swaraj is unattainable.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-4-1929

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that his parents opposed khadi because (i) it was difficult to wash clothes as they were coarse, (ii) the cost of a khadi sari was four times that of a foreign sari and (iii) one wearing khadi would not be admitted to a Government school or allowed into a first-class compartment containing a European passenger. Hence, even if one wore khadi at home, one had to put on mill-made cloth outside.

280. THE SUZERAIN AND VASSALS

Shri Kakalbhai has asked a number of questions which I give below along with answers to them:[1]

It only remains to free the States of British hegemony. History teaches that after the fall of the suzerain, the feudatory rulers thriving under his protection do not remain as they were. Fighting among themselves, some of them perish while others emerge stronger. If the sovereign was tyrannous, then after his fall some of the surviving feudatories reform themselves. Here of course the idea is that sovereign authority will pass to British India; that is to say, if British India attains real freedom, it will have so much power that, notwithstanding the Butler Committee report, the Princely States will have to follow suit whether they want to or not.

I should think I know well enough the state of rottenness in the Princely States.[2] In the past they might have been able to do what they liked, but today their decadence is sustained only under the wing of the Sovereign. When the master is there we need not enumerate the faults of a slave. Shri Kakalbhai can rest assured that the Empire knows the rottenness of the Princely States better than he does himself. Kakalbhai has two eyes to see with, the Empire has a thousand. If, nevertheless, it tolerates the rottenness of the Princely States it is itself guilty of it. It is notorious that the Empire gets the Princely States to perpetrate misdeeds which it is itself ashamed of or afraid to commit. The rule is that a leader or master is responsible for a thing done by his representative or assistant. If I tolerate someone committing a theft in the Udyoga Mandir, it is as good as my having committed it myself.

The questioner has to some extent answered his own question.[3] The old situation is not likely to repeat itself in the future

[1] The questions are not translated here. In the first question, referring to a statement by Gandhiji that he desired the destruction of the British Empire, but that there was still a possibility of reforms in Princely States, the correspondent had asked whether there was any evil in the British Empire, which made it fit for destruction, that was not to be found in the Princely States.

[2] This was in reply to the question whether he was right in thinking that the prevailing conditions in the States did not fill Gandhiji with indignation because he did not know their evils well enough.

[3] The correspondent had said that small principalities tended to be tyrannous and oppressive. If there were no British power would the situation have been better?

because the conditions have changed. All the independent States mentioned in history were not bad. In the history of all people Ramas as well as Ravanas exist. Even our experience today tells us that all Princely States are not uniformly bad. Some are very good, indeed, and if there were no bad Empire over them, they would have become very much better. Had there been no Empire the rotten States of today would not have existed at all or their chaos would be marked by ebb and flow. Today there are difficulties in climbing higher, but there are none in going down under the protective umbrella of the Empire.

The answer to this question[1] is not as easy to give as the questioner believes. I myself do not quite know what "feudalism" means and, if the questioner claims that he does, I am not prepared to concede the claim. I am not even willing to believe that "imperialism" and "capitalism" are included in "feudalism". It is not true that everything about "feudalism" is bad and that democratic government is the paragon of purity. Now of course all have been placed on the potter's wheel. It is to be seen which will come out a pitcher and which a jar. Nor is succession by birth always bad; all chosen successors are not incarnations of morality. We find good and bad men among Popes; there are diamonds as well as charcoal among Shankaracharyas; all American Presidents were not made of gold, some were certainly of clay.

British power is not an individual; it is a system.[2] The system by which it is exercised has ruined India and is ruining it further. Hence, I wish destruction of that system; why only I, almost all of us wish it. By Princely States we mean individuals. There is scope for reform in man, hence also in the Princely States. If there were no Empire which supported their autocracy, the subjects of the States would have been able to secure many rights for themselves. It is clear that reform cannot be effected with such ease in big States as in Princely States, because these are small. This is not, therefore, to suggest that big States must be broken up into small States, but I am showing the advantage of smallness of the small States. Some experiments which British India cannot easily carry out can be conveniently undertaken by the Princely States. For example, prohibition, revenue reform, necessary reform

[1] Since, in addition to British "imperialism" and "capitalism", the Princely States also represented "feudalism", did they not deserve to be destroyed; should not the system of succession by birth be put an end to?

[2] This was in reply to a question as to how Gandhiji would distinguish between a rule in which there was possibility of reform and one in which there was none.

in Hindu law, social reform, small-scale banking, dairies owned not by individuals but by the community, all these and others can be tried out in Princely States if the Empire is favourable. It is my firm belief that there is infinite scope for progress in Princely States, that is, on the part of their rulers. And why should we find fault with the rulers and not at all with their subjects? Of course, by 'subjects' I mean in this context 'politicians'. If this class can show more of courage and less of flattery, if it can be less selfish and more concerned with public good, it is in a position to reform the Princes. They are the hands and feet of the Princes. Who does not know that if his hands and feet refuse to move, the poor Prince will become a cripple? The interests of the rulers and the ruled are identical. The rulers have today learnt to live in England or Paris; else their England would be a hillock in their State and the money spent on their luxuries would be spent among their subjects. Their power to do evil has limits, their power to do good has none. As for the Empire, wherever I turn I see lies, fraud, arrogance, tyranny, drunkenness, gambling, lechery, plunder by day and by night and Dyerism. All are sacrificed at its altar. Its benefits are only apparent. It lives for its trade, it will die in trying to safeguard it. None should misconstrue these strong words. The Western civilization which passes for civilization is disgusting to me. I have given a rough picture of it in *Hind Swaraj*.[1] Time has brought no change in it. It is not my purpose even to imply that everything Western is bad. I have learnt a lot from the West. There are a number of pure and holy men there. I have many friends in the West. But what the Westerners worship under the name of civilization is a golden vessel.[2] I find that the questioner and others have been dazzled by its glitter.

Finally, Indian Princes will not reform themselves if we criticize them. The more we scratch the greater will be the itching. So they will go to their Sovereign and seek an ointment. The questioner must have fully digested the Butler Committee's report. Why does he then favour the protection of the Empire? If that protective umbrella disappears, he will not, he cannot, fight against free India.

Hence, I would take what I can from the Princely States by supplication, and by launching satyagraha against them if I have the strength to do so. If I have no other power, if they disregard my supplication, I would have patience and set about uprooting

[1] *Vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68.

[2] A reference to the *Ishopanishad*, 15

the primary cause, that is, the Empire. Indian Princes are like us, they are the products of this land, they have the faults which we have and we should cultivate the charity to grant that they may have even the good qualities which we ourselves have. From what I saw at the *Antyajà* school to which I paid a surprise visit with the Thakore Saheb of Morvi, I derived much consolation.

There is one point in Shri Kakalbhai's questions with which I am not able to deal. If it is his final verdict that the rule of even the best Indian Princes is worse than that of the Empire, all my answers would be in vain. For then there would stand between him and me the Chinese Wall of difference of principles. I have remained an optimist, Kakalbhai it would seem has become a pessimist. I have faith in human nature, Kakalbhai would seem to have none. Assuming that he is not such a cynic I have been moved to answer his questions.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 28-4-1929

281. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, VIZAGAPATAM[1]

April 28, 1929

I thank you all for the addresses of welcome and for the contribution you have made towards the Khadi Fund. I also offer my thanks to the Bengali sister who has presented me with these gold ornaments. Mention is made in one of your addresses of the arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali in the year 1921 by the Government and it is that fact that has brought honour to your town which we can never forget. You have also referred in your address to the advice I then gave you, which was mainly on three points — do not get angry with the Government, popularize the use of khaddar and work for inter-communal amity. You have also stated that though Vizagapatam is one of the biggest districts in the province and is coming into prominence, it is one of the poorest districts. Yet there are in your district several rich zamindars and landlords. Even though there are many facilities in your district for the development and popularization of khaddar, I regret to find foreign cloth still flourishing here.

In one of your addresses you have mentioned that you will be ready for swaraj in the year 1930. What I have to say to you

[1] Gandhiji spoke in Hindi. The speech was rendered into Telugu by Konda Venkatappayya.

in the same spirit is, that you should not wait till the year 1930, but must be getting ready even now. If you are sleeping now, you will find no opportunities when you wake up in the year 1930. You must be up and doing even from now. Do not wait for tomorrow.

Referring to the boycott of foreign cloth, you have requested for help from the Akhil Bharat Charkha Sangh. I request you to formulate a scheme in a business-like manner and forward it on to the Akhil Bharat Charkha Sangh for its acceptance. Only let your scheme be indicative of success and you will find no dearth of help.

Another thing I want to impress upon you is that you should strenuously endeavour to banish the drink evil from out of the land. If you are sincerely and seriously bent upon doing away with the drink evil, the Government will certainly have to bend to your will and do what you want; and a colossal attempt on the part of the people in this respect is absolutely necessary. The Indian National Congress has passed a resolution that wherever the drink evil is rampant, there must be a sincere attempt on the part of the people to eradicate it; and for this purpose, the people throughout the length and breadth of India, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, including Mahomedans, Hindus, Parsis and all the other communities, must unite. Even among Hindus, I find several communities quarrelling among themselves, and if we want to do away with all the existing evils, we must all necessarily unite.

In one of your addresses you have made mention of the Hindi language and that propaganda in this respect must be on a larger scale; and with that I fully agree. I have travelled throughout the country, and I have come to the conclusion that, if we all learn Hindi, we will be a step nearer swaraj. I have travelled throughout the Andhra Desha, and by the grace of God, instead of lecturing in English, I am speaking in Hindi. In the villages nobody can understand me if I were to speak in English. There are many words in Hindi which are spoken in the Telugu language and which you can easily understand. And hence you have to give prominence to the teaching of Hindi in your schools. I do not ask you to neglect Telugu; but work for Hindi, because Hindi *prachar* in Andhra Desha is a way of attaining swaraj for India.

Now, coming to the point, I am bent upon doing some work of a 'bania'. Wherever I might have been touring, I have not forgotten my 'bania' work. However much you might give me, you will not easily be able to satisfy *Daridranarayana* for, out of the

thirty crores of people in the country, over ten crores have not even a single meal per day. You cannot expect a sannyasi who is begging on their behalf, to easily satisfy his hunger. You have mentioned that Vizagapatam is a poor place. You also say that you have many zamindars in your district. Then, as a 'bania' I am entitled for a share in their riches. If I cannot sell to these zamindars such gold articles which this Bengali sister has given me, to whom can I sell them?

You have presented your addresses in nice and enchanting ivory boxes. I am not entitled to keep such fascinating articles for myself, and I have no place to keep them. Such articles must be kept in the houses of the rich. So I beseech that all those who have not previously contributed to the Khadi Fund should give a suitable return for these articles and take them back. You have also given me some khaddar articles which I am now putting up for auction. A Bengali sister has given me two precious gold bracelets; does not any Andhra sister give me anything? In the struggle for swaraj, women, all women, have an equal share of responsibility with men. I request that you will all maintain silence just as you have done till now, so that I might put up these articles for auction.

The Hindu, 30-4-1929

282. *TELEGRAM TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

April 29, 1929

NARANDAS
ASHRAM
SABARMATI

CERTAINLY LEAVE ASHRAM. GOD BLESS YOU WHATEVER YOU DO. SUGGEST CONSULTATION SHANKERLAL AND DOING KHADI WORK. JAMNADAS MAY NOT COME DURING THIS HURRICANE TRYING TOUR. HE CAN JOIN BOMBAY 23RD. MEANWHILE WRITE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 7732. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

283. *LETTER TO SATIŞ CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

VIZAGAPATAM,
April 29, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I am at a point nearest you in this tour. We are at Vizag and do not leave before Wednesday morning.

I like your programme about self-contained khadi. Oh! if it works effectively. It solves the question of boycott far more effectively than anything else.

How is Hemprabha Devi? How is Tarini? How are you yourself? More when I have a little leisure.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1604

284. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

April 29, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have time only to send you love and wish you well. You must regain your original vitality.

This is a seaside place.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5368. Courtesy: Mirabehn

285. *LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

April 29, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

I never get the time to write to you. I have gone through the Bareilly report. It says nothing, so far as I can see, about the prospect of khadi. Have you read it? What do you propose about it?

As for the tour, you would arrange as you think best. Prabhudas wrote an urgent letter. I have told him I should be ready to go after 10th June and that he should fix the programme in consultation with you.

This tour is somewhat trying but I am taking it very well indeed.

I saw a summary of your speech on the tomb[1]—I liked it.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

My tour programme has been sent to you.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

286. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

April 29, 1929

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

I hope you are at peace with yourself. Do not mind if someone has stolen your watch. Since we have discovered thievery amongst ourselves we should not wonder that other cases of thefts have been occurring. Stealing is a disease like the plague. Do not undertake a fast because someone has told a lie. For a fast, too, a certain atmosphere is necessary. Do your work and do not be disturbed by any excitement around you. Instead of doing anything which may make your body weak, see that it becomes strong. I wanted to write to Surendra, too, something to this effect. He should now take the hint from this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 802. Courtesy: Balkrishna Bhave

287. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*April 29, 1929*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letters bring fresh news every day. When a war is going on, that is bound to happen. Life is an unending war. Sunk in ignorance, we believe that it is not so. It is all to the good that the . . .[3] episode has made us more aware of the war.

I have sent a wire to Narandas to tell him that he may cer-

[1] Slip for 'bomb'?

[2] From the reference to the telegram to Narandas Gandhi which was sent on this date

[3] The name is being omitted.

tainly leave.[1] I have sent a similar wire to Ramniklal. You will probably see the wire to Ramniklal. It would be good if he acts as I have suggested in the wire.

My advice to you is this: let them who wish go. We have pressed people as best we could to stay on; we have gone far to make compromises. Make this one change immediately. Rent out some part of the Ashram land and lay down no rules to restrict its use. We should trust in the goodness of those whom we know from experience. They and we should be bound by one month's notice on either side. Budhabhai is subject to no restriction of rules, and still we like him as a neighbour. We should believe the same about those to whom we rent the land. We may not give the facility of provisions from our store, etc., to any person who comes along and starts living. If that friend from Vadaj maintains a store on his own responsibility, by all means let him run it. If he does so, we shall stop our store and buy provisions from him. This, however, is for you to consider.

I should like it if the entire management of the goshala is independent of the Udyoga Mandir or the Ashram. We may set apart for it the necessary land and give it on nominal rent. Let Parnerkar then run it on his own responsibility. "On his own responsibility" means that he himself will have to think about the rules for its running. As for money, he may enjoy all the facilities which are available today. He will, however, be free to employ men of his own choice. He may, if he wishes, appoint a committee to help him. In other words, he may take up the work if he is ready to dedicate himself to the dairy. He should supply milk, etc., to the Ashram and to others if he can manage. If any of the persons who belong to the Ashram wish to work with him, they may. Some should join even in order to help him. It should be left to Parnerkar's choice whether or not he should continue to live as an inmate of the Ashram. If you wish, you can make this change before I return there. You will require for that purpose the consent of the Cow-Service Society. But there will be no difficulty in getting it.

It does not matter if, as a result of this, the scope of the Mandir becomes smaller. It would not matter even if it should break up altogether. I shall not feel ashamed in publishing any part of this. Truth is never ashamed of itself anywhere in the world. When truth feels ashamed of itself, you may be sure that it is not truth but falsehood.

[1] *Vide* p. 303.

If, by acting thus, you find yourself left alone, do not feel helpless. Do then what the captain of a ship does. He first sees everybody else sinking and then drowns himself, or, if any part can be saved, he saves it and himself along with it. If he cannot save himself, all sink.

There is no room here for feeling that those who leave are bad and those who remain are good. Your conclusion that you can remain only if you are better than Mahadev is wrong. If he does not have the strength to remain, he may leave. If you have that strength, you may remain. There can be no competition in this matter.

Never think that you would be hurting me by anything you do. I shall feel the least hurt if everybody acts according to his strength.

Do what you think necessary about the women's section. If they can remain, so much the better. If they cannot, I have already suggested to you that they should be set free. Take that as a standing instruction.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11792

288. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Silence Day [April 29, 1929][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have sent a wire to you. You are leaving the Ashram, but I am sure you are not giving up khadi? I have, therefore, suggested that you should take up some work with Shankerlal. I have written today to Chhaganlal and made a suggestion about the Ashram. If you can stay on in accordance with it, please do so. The more important thing, however, is this. Do what will give peace to your soul and you will have my blessing in that. Purushottam lives with me and I should like it if he wishes to continue.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine–Part I, p. 52

[1] As in the source

289. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

April 29, 1929

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have your letter. In fact, I had been awaiting it. I like your idea of going to Morvi. Do you require any letter of recommendation to anyone there? Try the experiment during the time that I am away. And if you still do not improve, you should go with me to Almora. From Almora, I shall be returning to the Ashram. I have decided to spend the months of July and August at the Ashram. We will then try fasting for you.

I have missed your birthday. Your letter took six days to reach me. May you live long and may your good aspirations be fulfilled. I remember every day your recitations from the *Gita* and your *bhajans*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati: C.W. 896. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

290. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

Silence Day [April 29, 1929][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Since Gangabehn helps you in your work, you may, if you like, take up the responsibility of the women's section. However, you should not do it because of my letter. In the letter, I only explained to you your duty. But I have such faith in you that I would remain satisfied with whatever you contribute. All these years I have been only taking work from you, haven't I? If I gave you anything as a father to his daughter, there is nothing so remarkable about it. You, however, contributed money on the very day you adopted me as your father. The satyagraha pledge is one that cannot be forgotten. Your contribution of money has no value in my eyes. In that way I have deprived several women of their possessions. I am not

[1] Gandhiji met Satyavati on April 23. It appears this letter was written on the following Monday.

sorry for that, and do not even remember clearly many of these occasions. During this tour I took away from one Satyavati who had been recently widowed all her jewellery, and I felt no compunction in doing so. But would she take a pledge and keep it? It would be very good if she did. On the other hand, since you have the strength to keep your pledge, I do not let you sleep but keep you constantly awake to your duty. That was my only intention in the letter. If you force yourself to do anything because of that letter and spoil your health or otherwise slacken and fall behind in your work, you will have to hear bitter words from me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 553. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

291. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

April 29, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have not heard from you for some time. I interpret this to mean that you are in tolerably good health. If you write to me at Tuni, the letter will take the least time to reach me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6778

292. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI

April 29, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN ZAVERI,

Treat this letter as intended for all the women there.

You and Vasumati have taken up the responsibility for the women's section. In this, I see more your love towards me than your own wish and ability. If that be so I pray that God may grant you the will and the strength. Be that as it may, you should undertake nothing beyond your strength.

The Ashram as a whole, which includes the women also, has been passing through a severe test. I have written to Chhaganlal to say that those who wish can live separately. It remains to

be considered what we should do for the women members of the Ashram who have no male relations at the Ashram. You should all get together and think over the problem. I have made the risky suggestion that those who give up connection with the Ashram or the Mandir will be free from all rules and live only as tenants, for I see that there is no other way. It does not seem proper to apply to them rules which are mild. A tenant may stay as long as it suits him and the landlord wishes. I have still not been able to decide whether any of the women would like to be put in such a position, and even if any of them agree, whether we should run the risk of keeping them so. However, since all of you are there, you certainly can think over this matter before I return.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3696

293. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

[On or after *April 29, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I am not surprised to know that Balkrishna has lost his watch. It could have been stolen by someone in the Ashram or by an outsider. Such things will continue to happen. We should take as much care as we can.

I would certainly like it if Pannalal takes on rent the Ashram land and cultivates it. Can we think of anything better than that the Ashram should be broken up into different units, and that our own people should live on the old premises, observe the Ashram rules to the best of their ability and carry on occupations which would have been welcomed by it? Living thus, we should strive to progress towards our goal.

My present state of mind is such that I would not press anyone. Everyone should settle down to live in the manner he wishes. I don't see any need for people to wait till I return, for I don't wish to plead with anyone. Whatever I had to say and plead, I have done.

If Gangabehn has left for a month, it is all right. She needed a change. She had suffered in health and had become weak,

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Balkrishna Bhave", p. 305.

Lakshmibehn and Durga can look after the kitchen. What is going to happen about bread?

You cannot go away somewhere as an experimental measure. If and when it becomes necessary for you to go, some arrangement will certainly be made.

Personally, I would see no harm in handing over the management to Raojibhai. But you can say more about this; I can say nothing.

I knew all about the grazing land near Dholka. See that you make a deal according to your means. In this matter, Parnerkar is our means. Go in for the thing only if he can manage it.

Enclosed with this is a letter from the Thakoresaheb of Morvi. The two cows which Parnerkar wanted to have should now arrive there. When they do, write a letter of acknowledgement to the Thakoresaheb's secretary. Moreover, a report about the cows should be sent every month.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5480

294. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

[Before *April 30, 1929*][1]

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter.

As for my article[2] I am sure I have saved Ba from injustice. And I feel Ba herself knows this, or she could not move about with me so cheerfully. I have saved Ba, Chhaganlal and others from a number of needless accusations. I doubt if anyone else has experienced to the extent that I have the sweet joy of publicly confessing one's own guilt. I am surprised that you were not able to appreciate this.

Do try to collect contributions from the mill-owners. There should be no condition attached. Khadi may or may not gain, but the mills are certainly making enormous profits as even Wadia has admitted. If only the mills understand they can benefit still further. Time alone will convince them.

[1] From the tour programme, the letter seems to have been written before April 30.

[2] *Vide* pp. 209-12.

The chief dates of my tour are:

30th	Vizagapatam
May 2	Tuni
3	Pithapuram
4	Samalkot
5	Ramachandrapuram
8	Rajahmundhry
10	Nellore
16	Chittoor
22	Adoni *en route* to Bombay

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From the Hindi: C.W. 6167. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

295. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, VIZAGAPATAM

April 30, 1929

I thank you for the contributions you have made for the Khadi Fund. There is one thing which you should all well remember, namely, that you should seriously put into practice what you state in your addresses. I am immensely pleased with the address of the Co-operative Spinning and Weaving Society. This institution is an ideal institution and is unique of its kind. No doubt, there are co-operative societies in several places, such as in Mysore. But the speciality of this Society is that it contains every kind of worker and that the workers share in the profits. I will get your address translated into several languages in the country and have it broadcast in every place. I feel confident that this Society can achieve much in the economic regeneration of the country if it carries on like this and enlarges the scope of its work. I pray that all of you who are now wearing foreign cloth will once for all renounce it. It is an evil and a shame from which at the earliest possible moment we should be purified. Wipe out the stigma that we are so helpless that other nations have to clothe us. Eradicate the drink evil which is another shame in this land. Both these are the cause of our backwardness and weakness. Untouchability should by all means be removed. Hindus and Muslims should live like brothers because we have a common object to achieve. There must be inter-communal amity. Then, whatever responsibility men have for the attainment of swaraj for India, the same responsibility have women also. I sincerely believe that

women can do more for khaddar propaganda than men. I pray to God that He would give you sufficient light to guide you in the proper path for the attainment of the salvation of India, the realization of your strength and the coming of a free nation.

The Hindu, 2-5-1929

296. LETTER TO KRISHNADAS

CAMP, ANAKAPALLI,
May 1, 1929

MY DEAR KRISHNADAS,

I have your letter. It has not brought me satisfaction. Satis Babu should never have recommended the waiving of the debts due by Ram Binod.[1] The waiving can only be done by the Association. If Ram Binod disputes the amounts due, it is a matter for investigation. But seeing that he conducted a private business and had a loan on extraordinarily favourable terms, surely he must not now ask for remission of the debt due by him. He has been generous, but at whose expense? And he admits that the entries collected by Narandas represent profits. Surely a business that showed such handsome profits cannot plead inability to pay. Nor had Ram Binod ever, so far as I recollect, wanted before now discharge from his obligations. On the contrary he said repeatedly in his letters as also before me personally that he expected to discharge those obligations by such and such date, which has always shifted. I therefore think that the least that he can do is to discharge the debt.

Nor am I satisfied with the profit entries that have been made. There is undoubtedly a desire to conceal the profits.

I shall go deeper into Dwija Prasad's alleged statement.[2]

Does Ram Binod want now to give any further explanation about the entries or about the debt, for, I am ready to deliver my opinion if he has nothing further to say.

I hope Guruji is now entirely free from the pain in his right arm.

Ram Binod has written to me about the first volume of the *Seven Months*. I do not think that there will be any difficulty

[1] *Vide* pp. 17-20.

[2] It was stated before the arbitrators that, at the time of giving charge, cloth worth Rs. 5,000 had been concealed in another shop.

in getting Ganesan or Mohanlal of *Young India* office to consent to part with a number of copies of the first volume as against an equal number of the second volume. But the real thing is if it is transferred it will be . . .[1]

From a microfilm: S.N. 14900

297. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

CAMP, ANAKAPALLI,
May 1, 1929

MY DEAR BHRRR,[2]

I have your letter. Did anything in my letter suggest that you had been neglecting Salah[3]? He certainly never gave that impression to me. On the contrary, when I went for him for not bringing his position to your notice, he, if I remember rightly, said that he did not want to worry you and that he wanted to solve his difficulties himself, which of course was quite good. It was because I realized that it was hopeless for him to extricate himself without your assistance that I got his permission to mention his difficulties to you. I know that you have been an exemplary and generous parent, indeed from my point of view even indulgent. I am glad you have written to him and if he comes to India I shall certainly hope to take my share in the consultations about shaping his future.

Yours sincerely,
FELLOW-BHRRR

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.
BARODA CAMP

From a photostat: S.N. 9566

[1] The letter is incomplete in the source.
[2] This was the form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee.
[3] Addressee's son

298. *INTERVIEW TO ABEL*[1]

May 1, 1929

When I saw you, my heart actually leapt with joy and I really thought of Christ when I contemplated your consecration to the service of mankind. I have specially come to ask you what you think of Christ.

GANDHIJI: I consider Christ as one of the great teachers of the world. Beyond that I have not gone.

Is there any other kind of salvation apart from Christ's way?

These things are to be taken figuratively and not literally. Christ, no doubt, said: "I am the way," etc., but he also said: "The letter killeth." Any teacher could say what Christ has said. After all, Christ is a common noun and Jesus Christ means Jesus the Anointed. Any teacher who has dedicated his life to the service of God and humanity and attained to complete purity can say that. The *Gita* said the same thing.

Have you any special plan of salvation?

My knowledge I derive from all the scriptures. What greater salvation does man need than the attainment of absolute purity in self-sacrifice and service?

Is not Jesus Christ the only sinless one?

What do we know of the whole life of Christ? Apart from the years of his life as given in the four gospels of the New Testament we know nothing of the rest of his life. As a man well versed in the Bible, you ought to have known that. Christ is, no doubt, one of those who attained sinlessness. These are, after all, not matters to be argued by the intellect but to be felt by the heart. All this is not for debate.

The Hindu, 3-5-1929

[1] A Christian missionary of Vizagapatam

299. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ANAKAPALLI*

May 1, 1929

I thank you heartily for your welcome addresses, your purse and the precious ornaments which you have presented me to be used towards the Khadi Fund. I am glad to see so many of you today offering your mite to the poor of this land by asking them to spin and weave cloth for you. It is not possible for me to keep with me all these valuable ornaments and articles, and so I will put them up for auction here and I know the rich people here would purchase them and give me the money. You know the production and wearing of khaddar form the best and simplest means of attainment of our national goal. It is the duty of the rich as well as the poor to do something for the national cause. You referred in your address to the efforts of a local worker for the production of khaddar which has enabled some poor people to supplement their slender earnings besides providing an opportunity to purchase khaddar locally at a reasonable price. I offer him my thanks and wish you would all follow his lead and assist him. For remember, he has set the pace for freedom in this town. Help him and clothe yourself without waiting for Manchester. You have also stated that khadi work is being hampered for want of sufficient money. In a place like this, with so many prosperous merchants, khaddar production and propaganda ought not to suffer for want of funds. Perhaps you might not have money just at present. Khaddar work ought not to suffer for want of funds if there is enough sincerity of effort on your part. I will do what I can to assist you. After all money is a minor consideration. If khaddar work suffers in any place, understand that it is not for want of money but for want of energy and sincerity of effort on our part, for lack of the spirit of freedom.

There are here arrangements now for the burning of foreign cloth. It is a very holy deed because you burn away the shame of 'foreign-clothed nation' and I would request you to maintain the spirit of it. Always keep in mind the four pillars of swaraj. Wear only khaddar, eradicate the drink and drug evils, remove untouchability, and work for Hindu-Muslim unity and inter-communal unity. Physical training is essential for our national salvation, and along with it should go our mental development

and spiritual enlightenment. I beg of you to give me all you can —whether it be money, jewels or other articles.

The Hindu, 3-5-1929

300. IN ANDHRA DESHA [-III]

The current week's itinerary with the takings are as follows:

19-4-1929—Kavuru, Rs. 1,582-7-0; Dhulipadi, 1,116-7-0; Repalle, 3,008-9-9; Nalluriwaripalem, 500-0-0; Surepalli, 1,116-0-0; Oakespetu, 10-9-0; Vellatur, 116-0-0; Bhattiprolu, 818-1-5; Kanagala, 116-0-0; Govada, 1,358-0-0; Peparru, 116-0-0; Bodapadu, 196-0-0; Moparru, 902-6-4; Nalluru, 116-0-0; Gudavalli, 116-0-0.

20-4-1929—Anantavaram, Rs. 1,187-8-0; Tumuluru, 116-0-0; Krapa, 116-8-0; Ipuru, 116-0-0; Jampani, 776-9-0; Pedapudi, 1,116-0-0; Miscellaneous, 44-2-4; Pedaravuru, 432-0-0; Vemuru, 116-0-0; Turumella, 732-0-0; Amrutaluru, 999-0-0; Yelavarru, 60-0-0; Panchalavaram, 100-0-0; Chavavaripalem, 116-0-0; Tenali, 2,384-6-11 (Rs. 117 Lalaji Fund); Evani, 1,116-0-0; Chebrole, 644-2-0.

21-4-1929—Munagapadu and Gundalapadu, 62-8-0; Nudurupadu, 126-0-0; Narasaraopeta, 1,000-0-0; Karlagunta, 116-0-0; Miscellaneous, 12-8-0; Rentachintla, 1,197-4-10½; Chebrole, 6-8-6; Muppala, 1,771-10-9; Estimated value of jewels in Guntur District, 2,000-0-0.

23-4-1929—Gunturu, Rs. 100-0-0 (Rs. 25 Lalaji Fund). West Godavari District: Vasanthvada, 608-10-8; Pedapadu, 1,417-9-0; Punakollu, 100-0-0; Kalaperru, 134-12-0; Vatluru, 532-0-0; Ellore, 5,232-7-10; Chataparru, 1,116-0-0.

24-4-1929—Senivarapeta, Rs. 154-1-6; Vizayarai, 317-0-0; Nadupalli, 119-0-0; Dharmajigudem, 1,124-4-6; Estimated value of jewels up to the noon of 24-4-'29, 2,000-0-0.

Total up to date Rs. 1,11,653-9-7½.

Immediately on my arrival I told Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya and other co-workers that the expenses in connection with the tour should be reduced to a minimum and that if they were to be deducted from the collections as I found during several previous tours they were, they should be subject to confirmation by me. The workers told me that the expenses had to be deducted from the collections as the local Congress Committee had no funds in their coffers and if they made special collections in respect of the reception, it would be so much taken from the collections.

I therefore advised confirmation by me. The workers accepted my advice and it seems to be working satisfactorily.

I give the first bill of expenses that has already come into my hands:

(1)	Fare of Motor-cars New Ford for 31 days from 17th March to 16th April at Rs. 12 a day for B. P. Sitaramiah, M. Krishnarao, C. H. V. Narasinham all over the district		Rs.	372-0-0
(2)	Old Rugby car for 10 days at Rs. 10 a day for luggage and other rough work			100-0-0
(3)	Taluq work car charges			
	1. Divi Island; Chevrolet car from 25th March to 15th April			240-0-0
	2. Devarakota work G. Brahmayya for 5 days			91-8-0
	3. Devarakota east K. Anjaneyulu			95-0-0
	4. Gudivada B. Anjaneyulu			58-0-0
(4)	During the visit One Dodge car extra for 5 days			75-0-0
(5)	Petrol and Mobiloil and tolls paid			221-0-0
(6)	Petrol and Mobiloil bill to be paid			202-13-0
(7)	Miscellaneous			
	Telegrams	6-0-0		
	Trips	1-14-0		
	Odds and ends	1-12-0		
	Hundi boxes	5-0-0		
		Total	Rs.	13-10-0
(8)	Printing			70- 0-0
(9)	Establishment for one month			75- 0-0
		Total	Rs.	1,613-15-0

The bill accompanying given at Ventrapragada covers a net amount of Rs. 70-13-0. Hence

Total above	Rs.	1,613-15-0
Ventrapragada bill		70-13-0
	Rs.	1,684-12-0

It means that it cost Rs. 1,684-12-0 to collect nearly Rs. 30,000. It comes to a little over 5%. I know that in previous cases the expenses have been far larger and have included even the charges for rations for my companions. This bill excludes all such items. If however the tour had to be devised today, I feel that it would be possible to reduce the expenses still further. As it is, Dr.

Pattabhi is among the few business-like prompt workers we have. And he was able to avoid all superfluous expenses. But the number of volunteers travelling can and should be reduced. The utmost strictness is necessary in these matters. Only those should be in the party whose services are required. I recognize that arranging village tours like this is not an easy job. It is a new field and means a great deal of previous propaganda among the people. Wherever there has been organized work, the people in spite of their being in their thousands have behaved with exemplary restraint. Where there has been no previous education, *Mahatma Gandhi-ki Jai* has rent the air compelling me literally to plug my ears with my fingers. So unbearable at times has been the noise made by what has often appeared to me to be a senseless cry. I do not think that it has added to the enthusiasm of the people. Indeed the enthusiasm has been positively greater where the people have suppressed the desire to utter the cry. Dr. Pattabhi told me that the collections this time in his district were larger than his quota when the Tilak Swaraj Fund was being collected.

Talks on Khadi

At every centre in the different districts where I have toured, I have held talks with workers about khadi, drink, national education, etc. I have found greater faith in khadi than in any other items. Dr. Pattabhi is decidedly of opinion that the production of khadi can be increased almost to a limitless extent if it is properly organized. Sjt. Sitaram Shastri holds a similar opinion. But I have, I am sorry to have to observe, noticed absence of a scientific and diligent study of the question in Andhra Desha. I do not know a single expert in Andhra like say the late Maganlal Gandhi or Lakshmidas or Satis Babu or others whom I can mention in other provinces. No attempt has been made to introduce carding among the spinners. It is the opinion of many experienced workers, and I share the opinion, that unless self-carding is introduced, the spinners will not be able to hold out for long and that the quality of yarn cannot be much improved.

Nor is it sufficiently realized that khadi has no status if its yarn is manufactured by those who need not spin to supplement their bread earnings. It would be a deception upon the people to collect funds in the name of *Daridranarayana*, if there are no people for whom the wheel can be the only needed accessory occupation. There should therefore be a map of Andhra showing the spots where there is grinding poverty and where the message of khadi would be taken as soon as there are men and money.

I have therefore suggested the following propositions to the workers for their guidance:

1. Spinning for wages should be introduced only in those villages where people are in perpetual want because they do not get enough from agriculture and because they have leisure. Khadi so made may be subsidized by way of not adding overhead charges to the cost price.

2. Spinning for one's own requirements should be introduced in all the villages irrespective of poverty. In such cases the help to be given to the people should take the form of teaching them ginning, carding or spinning as the case may be and supplying them with cotton and accessories at cost price and getting their yarn woven for them at ordinary rates. In this case, organizing charges will have to be incurred.

3. Sacrificial spinning should be promoted wherever possible. Help, as in the case 2, may be given but without, as a rule, costing the head office any money on this score. Sacrificial spinning loses all merit when it is organized at a loss. In this class of spinning, self-carding should be insisted upon. I am not sure that it is not the wisest plan to begin one's spinning lesson with ginning and carding. As a matter of fact an intelligent worker can learn the elements of the three processes in one day.

It follows from the foregoing that there should be a standard spinning wage in all Andhra for counts below 12. For finer counts, fancy rates may be given and when given should be charged against their khadi. In this connection it is useful to mention the generous donation of Rs. 1,500 made by Raja Nayani Venkataranga Rao Bahadur of Munagala at Hyderabad (Deccan) for the special purpose of running a small technical department in Andhra. It would now appear to me as if he knew instinctively what a desideratum such a department was in Andhra. With the charkha in so much vogue in Andhra there is no reason why it cannot run the best department of the type in all India. Only it must have men with an abiding faith in the wheel and an iron determination to master the science. If this technical department is to be opened, it is necessary to send one or two promising young men for training to Sabarmati, Sodepur or some such place.

Visit to a Young Widow

When we were going from Bezwada to Ellore I was told that a girl who had just been widowed wanted to give me all her jewellery valued at Rs. 1,400 and that she wished me to go to her house in a village only less than two miles from Pedapadu where

we had to go. Her caste people observed the *purdah* and in no case could a girl recently widowed venture out especially to a public meeting. The jewellery had little attraction for me. In fact I did not believe my informants when they told me that the girl widow could possibly wish to give up all her costly jewellery. But the fact of her being young and only recently widowed (I was told she was a virgin widow) was enough to take me to her house. And I was glad I went. The girl's name is Satyavatidevi. She is under 20. Her husband was a well-educated nationalist. She knows Telugu well. I found her to be a girl of courage and decision. She had both the parents alive. She placed into my hands all her ornaments so far as I am aware. And they did appear to me to be worth fully Rs. 1,400. She put into my hands also a note which asked me to take her to the Ashram. The parents were present when I met Satyavatidevi. And they were agreeable to her surrendering her ornaments for khadi work. I suggested to the parents that they should not keep her confined to the house and that she should be treated just like the other girls in the family. I told the girl that she had no need to discard her ornaments merely because she was widowed. But she was firm. She had no longer any use for them. I told her I would gladly take her to the Ashram if the parents consented. The latter have promised to give the matter their consideration and have given the girl every hope of her being sent with me at the end of the tour. The father, though he was undoubtedly cautious and reticent, appeared to me to be generously inclined towards his daughter. I was sorry I was unable to bring any greater consolation to the widow. It was with a heavy heart I parted from her.

At Pedapadu therefore my speech was devoted to Satyavatidevi. I told the audience that it was their duty to break down the *purdah* and to help the parents of the widow to remarry her if she was at all so inclined. If a young man of 18 being widowed could remarry, why should not a widow of that age have the same right? Voluntary enlightened widowhood is a great asset for any nation as enforced ignorant widowhood is a disgrace. The audience listened with respect and great attention. The father of the widow was present at the meeting. I subsequently learnt that the idea of parting with the ornaments was the widow's own original idea and that she had no desire whatsoever of remarrying. Her great desire is, I was told, to give herself to study with a view ultimately to dedicating her life to national service. All honour to Satyavati, if such is really her mature decision. Hindu society

must make the way absolutely open for such widows to remarry whenever they like. The story of Satyavati is enacted in hundreds of Hindu homes every day. The curse of every widow who is burning within to remarry but dare not for fear of a cruel custom descends upon Hindu society so long as it keeps the widow under an unforgivable bondage.

Young India, 2-5-1929

301. A MALICIOUS LIBEL

I have now before me the full text of the *Englishman* interview given by an official of the B.I.S.N. Company. I reproduce it below in full:

> Interviewed by a representative of *The Englishman* yesterday, an official of the steamship company said:
>
> Mr. Gandhi had no special privileges when he travelled as deck passenger on the s.s. *Aronda* but he and his friends occupied a portion of the deck which was actually second-class space. The isolation of Mr. Gandhi from his fellow deck passengers was by his or his friends' arrangement. The party were allowed to occupy the space they had taken. The steamer authorities did not set apart a special portion of the second saloon deck for his party nor did they insist on his using it and if he used the second-class latrine, it was against orders. Mr. Gandhi was nominally a deck passenger; there was nothing to prevent him seeing the alleged inconveniences of other deck passengers.
>
> The din and noise complained of could only have been made by the deck passengers themselves.
>
> The space reserved for passengers, alleged to have been encroached upon by motor-cars, fowl and cattle was actually space set aside for the particular purpose of carrying this sort of cargo. It was not intended to be used by passengers. The motor-cars referred to were carried not in passengers' sleeping accommodation but on a deck only required when a full complement of passengers is being carried, far more than on that particular voyage.
>
> As to the statement that the latrines were filthy, four topasses are solely employed in keeping the latrines and decks clean. Deck passengers themselves always object to having decks and latrines cleaned but an endeavour is made to keep them clean as far as possible.
>
> Every latrine door has an automatic lock and also latches for closing. There are notices in various places round the decks informing all passengers that if they have any complaint to make they should make it to

the Commander when he is doing his rounds. No complaints were made on this voyage. Commanders of steamers personally go round and inspect all passenger decks at least twice a day, sometimes thrice.

It is seldom that the full number of passengers allowed by the Indian Passenger Act is carried and the occasion on which Mr. Gandhi travelled there were only about 400 passengers outward and inward.

Hospital Occupied

With reference to the tween or lower deck referred to by Mr. Gandhi as a 'Black Hole' this is the tween deck which the Company always places at the disposal of deck passengers. It is extra space over and above that required by law even when a full complement of passengers is carried. The lower hatches of this deck are always kept wide open which allows for good ventilation.

The forepart of the main deck which he refers to as being a cattle hold was not intended for passengers but passengers themselves apparently made use of it. The cage referred to at the stern end of the shade deck where sheep, goats, ducks and poultry are kept (actually there are never any goats) contains the steamer livestock.

There are arrangements for a hospital on board but Mr. Gandhi and his friends occupied it on the return journey from Rangoon without the permission of the officers of the ship.

In rainy weather which Mr. Gandhi speaks about, there is no necessity for deck passengers to get wet unless they, through their own wish, prefer sleeping on the exercise deck, as all passenger-carrying accommodation is under cover.

The original is much more malicious than the Free Press summary. I have had the misfortune to expose many falsehoods but I cannot recall more falsehoods packed in a column of newspaper than I find in this interview. The discerning reader will not fail to detect the falsehoods for himself unless he thinks me to be an inventor of lies and utterly devoid of self-respect. I wish indeed it was true that I had no special privileges when I travelled as deck passenger from Calcutta to Rangoon. My own companion had gone to buy the tickets and the Company issued a special ticket for me. For deck passenger tickets names are not entered, mine however was a special coupon and bore my name. When I boarded the vessel, the Company's men took me to a place which they said was reserved for me. I thankfully occupied that seat but had no intention whatsoever of using second saloon facilities. I went to the deck latrine. This was noticed by the officers. A messenger thereupon came to me and said that the first officer did not like my using the deck latrines and that he would like me

to use the second-class latrine. I told the messenger that I had chosen to travel deck and that I could accommodate myself to the latrine meant for deck passengers. This led to a discussion between the message-bearing official and myself, and in order not to appear fussy or punctilious I availed myself of the courtesy extended to me. It is not likely that a Company whose officials can be so insulting and reckless in making statements as this interviewed official has been would allow me or my friends to occupy any unauthorized place we liked or to use without interference and at our own sweet will privileges to which we were not entitled.

If the space occupied by deck passengers was really not intended for them and was intended for fowl, cattle and motor-cars, it means that the latter[1] had better accommodation reserved for them than the human cargo. For this space occupied by sub-human cargo was the best and the most airy. I would certainly have loved to have taken the space occupied by the motor-cars which blocked the air in addition to occupying the floor space. And the suggestion that the Company's officers permitted without hindrance deck passengers to occupy space not allotted for the purpose is unworthy of belief. I have known Company's officials kick passengers who dared to occupy space not allotted to them.

The rest of the interview was dealt with by me last week.[2]

I am sorry that my article, the subject-matter of the interview, has missed its mark, and instead of resulting in a quiet inquiry by the Company and amelioration of the lot of deck passengers, has resulted in an insolent exhibition of power derived from wealth and Government patronage. I invite the Company to probe the matter deeply and withdraw the libellous statements so recklessly made by the interviewed official and, what is more, right the wrong that is being done to the deck passengers.

Young India, 2-5-1929

[1] The source has "former".

[2] *Vide* pp. 284-6.

302. SOUTH AFRICAN REPATRIATES

The Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress have sent me the following letter:[1]

> It was stated that the Government of India have taken no steps to assist the repatriates, that they are stranded and are unable to find employment, that the present-day conditions in India are not congenial to them, that reports have been read conveyed by letters from repatriates, that owing to absence of work and assistance from the authorities, they are either starving or undergoing much suffering and consequently many of them have, by force of adverse circumstances, migrated to Fiji or Malaya.
>
> In the Cape Town Agreement, one of the conditions accepted by the Government of India in regard to the scheme is that on their arrival in India the emigrants will be helped as far as possible to settle in the occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude or their resources.
>
> Judging from the report received from the repatriates, it is doubtful whether the Government of India are doing anything at all to help the repatriates.
>
> This Congress will be extremely grateful to you if you will afford information on the subject so that it may be guided in making full representations to the authorities.

I refrain from offering any comment at the present moment. But I shall await some statement from the authorities. There is no doubt that if these repatriates are to be received, they must be specially cared for. India to most of them is like a foreign land.

Young India, 2-5-1929

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

303. TELEGRAM TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

TUNI,
May 2, 1929

CHHAGANLAL JOSHI
UDYOGA MANDIR
SABARMATI

KANTI CAN GO RAJKOT IF GOSHALA CAN SPARE HIM.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 15392

304. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

TUNI,
May 2, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have not been able recently to write to you as I should like to. The spare time at my disposal I have been utilizing for overtaking arrears.

I enclose herewith my letter[1] to Rolland. Please translate and send, unless you want me to revise the original.

I hope you have now my detailed programme and you know exactly where I am from day to day up to the 28th instant. I am anxiously awaiting something from you from Muzaffarpur. I want to make sure that you are definitely on the road to recovering your strength.

Love.

BAPU

Encl. 1

SHRIMATI MIRABEHN
CARE KHADI DEPOT
MUZAFFARPUR

From the original: C.W. 5369. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9425

[1] *Vide* the following item.

305. LETTER TO ROMAIN ROLLAND

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI[1],
May 2, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have before me a translation made by Mira of your loving and touching letter dated 17th February, 1929. In anticipation of your permission, I have already made use of some lines of this letter discreetly and without giving your name.

I am glad that, like me, you think that I am not to come to Europe this year.

As for the question whether the voice of India will be heard in Europe, I am of the opinion that India must still suffer much more than she has suffered till now, and on a larger scale than before, to be heard in Europe or in the West. Today, its voice will be a voice in the wilderness. I think that European journalists, who are prejudiced and at times corrupt, will not hesitate[2] to take for gospel truth every exaggeration and self-evident, unilateral falsehood spread by the British Government if India is not represented.

I also feel that this non-violent struggle does not call for the same propaganda as a struggle based on violence. Thirdly, there is the practical difficulty mentioned by you, of finding someone who, in any case, could make himself heard. The only person I have now in view is Andrews as the Poet is not available. Certainly, Andrews will make himself heard in places that count.

I hope you are keeping good health and that God will preserve you until the battle in India is over.

Sincerely yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a copy: C.W. 9766

[1] Permanent address
[2] The source has "will hesitate".

306. *LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI*

May 2, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

You have taken up a big responsibility. I expect great results if the women's section is maintained somehow. Women must learn some day to live together and to get on with one another. I have seen Christian women living in this way. It has always been regarded as a sign of civilization thus to learn to live together. Now that you have taken it upon yourself I recommend you to stick to it. How is Yashodadevi getting along and how is Sarojinidevi carrying herself?

Narandas will most probably leave. I am sorry, for if he goes it will disrupt your work again. One who lives with me must suffer this inconvenience. Since the Ashram believes that knowledge of letters follows character and not *vice versa*, very often we have had to sacrifice knowledge of letters at the altar of character. Though Narandas may leave, and none else may come to your help, yet do not give up your studies. One should do the best one can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3095

307. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

May 2, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your two letters of the 26th and the 27th. Don't mind the expenditure on the operation on Chi. Ratilal's son. In such matters, he will not forget so soon that he is a rich man's son, nor will Champa let him do so. Slowly teach him as much simplicity as you can. He is a young man with a very frank nature. You do the right thing in giving him a seat next to yours. It will be excellent if he spends his time in writing a little, spinning for a while and reading something. Write directly to Dr. Mehta about the operation. Mention the expenditure, too.

I don't wish to press Chi. Narandas or Ramniklal. I would not mind if you, the women, Surendra and others persuaded them to stay on. After all, it is you who have to work with them. If they refuse to stay on, I will not blame you in the least for that. It would be good if they stayed till my return. Chhaganlal's ten thousand, so far as I know, was accumulated in this manner: sale proceeds of jewellery, savings in Phœnix, accumulated interest and what was saved from the money given by Dr. Mehta. The latter had given the money for a specific purpose — for the expenses in England. If anything was saved from it, it should have been returned to him. Instead, Chhaganlal kept the amount with him, and that was theft. He, too, has looked upon it in that light. He said something of the kind at the time of handing over the money. I, however, made no comment, since I had not the slightest suspicion in my mind. But I understood what he had meant when the fact of his having kept back the money was discovered, and he, too, explained the position in clearer words. I do not know what the amount in question was. Whatever it might be, he certainly cannot use money which contains a portion which was stolen.

I advise Ramniklal to go to Jabalpur. If, however, Kishorelal is ready to go, that will certainly be the right thing. He may then ask anyone of his choice to join him—if, that is, a field exists there.

Read about the case of the widow Satyavati in *Young India*.[1] It should also appear in *Navajivan*. If she wants to join, we cannot but admit her. There is little likelihood of her joining, though.

When Mahadev is free, he should take the women's classes. Do not think of asking Maganbhai[2] and Soman[3] to come and help. We cannot just now snatch away anyone from Kaka. The training given in the Mandir is of an altogether different kind. We want knowledge of the letters, but its place is secondary. No one will judge the Mandir from its standard of literary education.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

After I had finished the foregoing letter, more letters have arrived. I am thinking of sending a wire about Kanti, so that it may be easier for you. If he can be released from dairy

[1] *Vide* pp. 320-2.

[2] Maganbhai Desai, sometime Vice-Chancellor, Gujarat University

[3] R. J. Soman, a teacher in Gujarat Vidyapith; later employed in the Navajivan Press

work without inconvenience, let him go for some time. It seems that Harilal wants to give him a camera. If he does, I do not feel inclined to ask Kanti not to accept it. However, advise him as you think best.

Personally I approve of your having given the land to Pannalal. You need not consult me about the decisions in the matter. Besides, Kaka is there; whom else do you require? But the consent of the Cow-Service Society is not enough. That Committee may consider the merit or otherwise of the proposal. It is the Managing Committee's right to rent out land. Its consent, therefore, will be necessary so that the transaction may be in order. Personally I wish that Pannalal should not even put up new structures. He should pay rent for Joshi's house too. Or, is that the agreement?

It is good that Maitreyi has left. Do Durga and Mahavir work?

Why did Jayanti get fever? And Bal?

It is indeed a fine thing you are doing, running the Mandir, as you do, like a school. That is our ideal.

I welcome the present time, which you regard as "critical". I take interest, from this distance, in everything that is happening.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5408 and 5493

308. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, TUNI

May 2, 1929

I thank you all for the addresses of welcome presented to me by the Union Board of Tuni and its people and also for the purses to the Khadi Fund. That means you realize the need of the nation today. Much is spoken about khaddar in your address of welcome. Surely you are competent to speak about khaddar, for I know that your place is a khadi-producing centre and there are several merchants engaged in that trade. But that makes it all the more disgraceful to your place even if one amongst you were to put on foreign cloth. You are able to spin and weave your own cloth here, so why should you have foreign cloth brought to you from abroad. Is it not a disgrace to your manliness? I want you to wipe out this shame and you must see that no piece

of foreign cloth is here any longer. It is necessary that your Board should do propaganda among the people for the use of khaddar alone and for purchasing the cloth spun and woven here. Also, you must go to dealers in foreign cloth and silently do propaganda work among them and win them over to your side by all peaceful means. You must tell them that to the extent to which they purchase foreign cloth, to that extent they are starving their own brothers and sisters here and impoverishing their country.

I hope they will yield to you. I further hear that some people are selling cloth woven of mill yarn as khaddar. It is unjust on their part to do so. The yarn spun by your good and devoted sisters on the spinning-wheel and then woven into cloth for you by your brother weavers on the handloom is what is known as khaddar. Everything else produced in any different manner cannot be called khaddar and to resort to such a different process or means is sinful. Pandit Motilal Nehru introduced a bill in the Legislative Assembly to the effect that one who cheats the public by manufacturing or selling spurious khaddar should be made liable to punishment. I think a bill superfluous and unnecessary if there is a true and sincere discipline and adherence to dharma in the country. May I therefore pray that whoever sins in this respect by doing business in deceitful ways shall henceforth put a stop to it. I pray to those that wear foreign cloth in this town, where their own brothers and sisters are ready to give them the clothes they need, to discard all foreign cloth and burn it. I also pray to those who are habituated to drinking toddy, brandy and other drinks to abandon the habit. You must also see that no people are untouchables. Hindus, Muslims and others should be united in the common cause of freedom. All communal disputes should be settled amongst yourselves and you must maintain an *esprit de corps*. If we do all these things swaraj will be in our hands.

The Hindu, 4-5-1929

309. LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

[Before *May 3, 1929*][1]

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

It is 5.30 a.m. now. I am attending to your letter first. I have drafted a telegram[2] to you and sent it for despatch. You should certainly obtain release from the Udyoga Mandir or the Ashram whichever you call it. I think for the present your good lies in doing this. You have an extremely straightforward nature but your judgment is immature. You are unable to decide independently what is dharma and what is not, nor is there logical consistency in your thought. You therefore often slip off the track and are bewildered. Under the circumstances I think it is only good for you to stay away and let yourself develop. Since you have a pure heart you will shine wherever you go.

Here is my advice. You should lead an independent life by hiring premises within the Ashram precincts, like Pannalal who is going to take up a separate residence near the Ashram, or like Budhabhai. You should be free from such restrictions as observance of the Ashram's external rules. It is another thing if you come to the prayers of your own accord. You may have a salary if you wish to or if you need it. Immediately you should set out to investigate what scope there is for khadi around Jabalpur which is in the grip of starvation. This will take about a month or so. The climate there is said to be congenial. We shall see what you should do when you have finished this work. There are several jobs awaiting you. My feeling is that Tara needs to be in contact with the Ashram. No other place has what the Ashram offers to women. Tara may lead an independent life, take from the Ashram whatever she may and offer what she can. In this world no one can take without giving something in return. Some people give willingly, some under compulsion; some knowingly, some unknowingly.

All these are merely suggestions. If, for the sake of your peace of mind you feel that for the present you should stay away from that atmosphere by all means do so.

Now let me point out the obvious flaw in your reasoning.

[1] According to the source the letter was received at Sabarmati on May 3, 1929.

[2] This is not available.

Here is your statement: "I do not think that I am guilty of violating the *aswadavrata*[1] if I take spiced food, or that if I cannot memorize the *Gita* I violate an Ashram rule and my progress will stop." This statement in itself is true; it is however false in so far as it is a statement of facts. Taking of spices is bad because in our book of rules it is regarded as breach of the *aswada* vow, though in fact it may not be so. If it is not, the rule needs to be abolished. But so long as the rule stands it is our duty to observe it. The *aswada* vow may have nothing to do with the practice of taking only five articles of food but anyway I have taken the vow and since there is nothing immoral about it I must observe it. The same argument applies to the memorizing of the *Gita*. This is not covered by our rules, but we have accepted its desirability. We get the children to memorize it; we call it a spiritual treasury. I have therefore believed that you all support me in my estimate of it. Then if we make no efforts in this direction we strain our vow of truth. I can understand your inability to memorize the *Gita* owing to your many occupations; but would it not be a breach of truth if, in spite of constantly commending the memorizing of the *Gita*, you did not take some time off to undertake it?

But that is enough. Thinking generally tires us and we move in endless circles. This is exactly why the votaries of truth do not let their fancy wander, but like a ghost cling to only a few things, and draw the whole truth from out of them. They would humbly stick to what they have undertaken rather than perpetually doubt whether it is correct or not.

But every single thought, every single act of ours is for ever imperfect, we are liable to err; now what can we do about this? If we would not take up these or remain sceptical about them as long as we are not perfect, well, in that case we shall never become perfect.

May you both attain bliss.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4144

[1] Vow of not pampering the palate

310. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, PITHAPURAM

May 3, 1929

Gandhiji pointed out that the Hindi translations of the addresses were in undecipherable Devanagari characters and a bit voluminous. The Hindi language was not so defective. If the gentleman who translated would take pains to meet him at Cocanada, he would be glad to point out and correct the defects. However he could understand the ideas contained in it. It was said therein that khaddar production was going on very well in that place. That was welcome news to him but he would not be satisfied with that. There should not be even a single person using foreign cloth. They must not be content until everyone gave up the use of foreign cloth and they should try their utmost to see that everyone wore khaddar and khaddar only. He could see children and certain adults still wearing foreign cloth before him. If khaddar production was going on very well there, why should the people be still wearing foreign cloth? Did they refuse to accept the dawn of freedom? He hoped they would one and all take a vow to wear only khadi and carry out that pledge. That meant more food to the people, more saving of money from going out of the country, more strength to the people to spin, weave and wear their own cloth and greater freedom for the land and its children.

The Hindu, 4-5-1929

311. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

COCANADA,
May 3, 1929

CHI. KUSUM,

Your letter has come. I hope Jadavbehn is all right now. No adverse effect of the journey has yet been noticed and now 'most of it is over and only a little remains'. You can see the rest of the news from Prabhavati's letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. KUSUMBEHN
UDYOGA MANDIR
SABARMATI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1789

312. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 4, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I am without any news from you for four days now. In the little village where I am writing this there is no chance of my getting anything today. Such is the most interesting tour this time. Orissa villages and Tamil Nad were nothing. Here is all touring in the interior. I should learn much more, if I had leisure. But I must take what comes my way and be satisfied. Health still excellent.

Love.

BAPU

SHRIMATI MIRABAI
C/o BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD
P.O. ZERADAI
(SARAN) BIHAR

From the original: C.W. 5370. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G. N. 9426

313. LETTER TO D. B. KALELKAR

Unrevised *May 4, 1929*

CHI. KAKA,

I have your letter. I hope work on the revised second edition of the *Jodanikosh*[1] is going on. Thinking about the subject, I feel that you should ask Balubhai to have the municipal schools to follow the spellings given in the *Jodanikosh*, that is, it should be made obligatory for the teachers to follow this spelling. You should make similar efforts to get the spellings adopted in all the other educational institutions in Gujarat.

While taking these steps to popularize the spellings of *Jodanikosh*, we should also print a much larger number of copies of it; the size should be reduced and special paper should be used. If possible we should have it printed from plates or stereotyped.

As for Mathuradas, I suppose all you have to do now is to ask him to come over. I am still using the *modhiyun*[2] designed by

[1] *Vide* pp. 213-4.

[2] Part of the spinning-wheel which supports the spindle

you. I have not been able to see its superiority over the one designed by Lakshmidas. It is certainly superior to Keshu's, though. Have you obtained Lakshmidas's opinion about your *modhiyun*? How much cheaper is it? You will have to discuss this with Mirabehn. She is right in looking at everything from the point of view of the villagers. She, therefore, dispenses with the pulley and favours a soft spindle. If such a spindle works perfectly well, we could obviate the need for everybody learning how to straighten it, and reduce its cost to a pice. This will be no small gain. Your *modhiyun* may not perhaps fit into such a spindle, since that particular part has to be wide enough. The spindle is held close in Keshu's and your *modhiyun*, and it seems to me that it will not work unless the spindle is absolutely straight. Think over this problem and discuss it with me when I arrive there. You may also write to me about it if you wish.

I definitely hope that I shall be there from May 28 to June 10 at any rate. Out of these days I will give one full day to you.

Whether it would be better for Prabhudas to stay with you or in Almora, we can decide only after we have more information about Almora. If I go to Almora, I will make the necessary inquiries in this connection. Or we may leave the final decision to Prabhudas himself.

It is difficult to solve the problem of Jamnadas. It is an achievement on your part that now you feel no resentment against the Gandhi family. As long as it is there, one cannot be objective. Now let any member of the Gandhi family distrust you if he will. You will have done your duty if you say and do what you think right. I suppose Jamnadas and others must have become very sensitive these days. Even ordinarily Jamnadas is rather sensitive. We have, therefore, to overlook his shortcomings as far as possible. In any case, I cannot think just now what ultimately we will have to do about the school.

Bal is silent nowadays, what is the state of his mind?

I refrain from writing to you about the Udyoga Mandir so as to conserve your energy and to save your time and mine. But you should certainly write to me anything you may wish to. Do intervene whenever it becomes necessary to do so in the ordinary course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9481. Courtesy: Kakasaheb Kalelkar

314. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

May 4, 1929

CHI. BALKRISHNA,

You may work just as much as you can but do not accept defeat. Do not ruin your health. More when we meet, of course.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 803. Courtesy: Balkrishna Bhave

315. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

May 4, 1929

CHI. KUSUM,

To all the letters received today I am replying at 8.30 p.m. after returning from my journey, because we are leaving in the morning. And if I do not post the letters here they cannot be posted in the other places.

I have your letter. You should never shrink from writing everything.

There is no doubt that Jadavbehn benefited by your going there. I hope you did not leave your work incomplete. I can write no more at the moment.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Sulochanabehn writes: 'I do not like this place for Kusumbehn too is not with us.'

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1790

316. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 4, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I understand your state of mind. Go on only so long as you have the courage and faith. I am ready to bear your leaving me. My wish has always been that only those who cannot live outside the Ashram may remain, and I wish so more emphatically today. Do what you think best. Force yourself to do nothing. I shall be more than satisfied if you remain till the end of this month. Having thus released you, I tell you at the same time that all of you, or those of you who remain, can shape the Mandir in the manner you think best. I have explained to you that the present members of the Mandir can occupy the buildings and that others, too, who are fit to live in them may be invited to do so. I can tolerate every freedom being given, but I myself do not understand what freedom I should ask people to exercise. I can think more about this when I arrive there.

Mahavirprasad's letter is enclosed with this. I have replied[1] to it. He may sell what he can, may dispose of damaged goods at our cost and send the money to us at his convenience. He is an upright man. We should accept everything he does. Do not, therefore, remind him in future to remit the money, or else tell me when it is necessary to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5409

[1] This letter is not available.

317. LETTER TO RUKMINI

May 4, 1929

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter only today. By all means you too may go with Radha. Now you will have but a few days at Matheran. Let us now see what Jamnalalji does. I am sending him a wire[1].

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9045

318. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

10 p.m., May 4, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I see that you are at your wit's end. I think the suggestion that the boys and girls should be sent to the Vidyapith will be difficult to carry out. But in this, too, I don't insist on my view. If all of you think that this is the right decision, and if Kaka agrees with you, you can certainly act upon it even before I return. You need not hesitate to take any step. My own view is that those children alone may remain whose parents are content with what we give them. That is our real experiment [in education]. Such an experiment can be made only in the Ashram, and we have created the necessary facilities for the purpose. We need not lose heart while making this experiment. If, however, you think that we are beaten, do what you think best.

It is absolutely necessary to send Radha and Rukhi for a change of air. I had thought of sending them to Matheran to live with Mathuradas. But there is no time for that now. I have, therefore, sent a wire[2] to Jamnalalji. Do what he suggests, or anything else that occurs to you. That is what Balkrishna is.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5411

[1] & [2] Not available

319. *KHADI IN HARDWAR*

It is a matter of pleasure as well as of sorrow that, in a small place like Hardwar, a khadi shop was opened and closed down and it has been opened again by the efforts of Pandit Dev Sharma, a scholar worthy of the titles of Ved Visharad and Acharya. It is a matter of pleasure because a large religious class appreciates the merits of khadi. It is a matter of sorrow because in a place like Hardwar the consumption of khadi in which lies the economic progress of the millions can be brought about only with effort. You may find as many shops of foreign cloth in Hardwar as you like. But a khadi shop needs the protection of the Pandits. Pandit Dev Sharma has written a letter in Hindi about the khadi store of which I give the gist below.[1]

I hope that the store will progress and that it will receive full encouragement.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-5-1929

320. *OUR IGNOMINY*

The publication of the second part of Thakkar Bapa's Antyaja Directory begins from this issue. It is now many months since this Directory came to me. It did not accompany me on my tour, but when it did come, I hardly got time to have a look at it during this whirlwind tour. The tour of Andhra Pradesh is strenuous, but the people here are very kind and Deshabhakta Venkatappayya takes such good care of me that he allows no one near me in the afternoons which are supposed to be periods of respite for me, and for that reason, I am able to deal with the Directory.

That Directory is a history of our, that is, the Hindus' ignominy—I have intentionally used the pronoun "our". Among the readers of *Navajivan* are Muslims, Parsis and also Christians. I write this article, however, as a Hindu for all the Hindus of Gujarat.

What can one say about the cruelty of the followers of a religion who have a custom under which the *Antyajas* have diffi-

[1] This is not translated here.

culty even in getting water! Even an enemy cannot be denied drinking water. How can the *Antyajas* have courage to come to our house to quench their thirst when we do not allow them even to draw water from our well? On the trains they are shunned; they are similarly treated when they come to the shops; if they set foot into a temple, the god of the high castes is polluted. Our children object if they sit with them at school. And all this is done in the name of religion!

I see no authority for all this in *sanatana* dharma. An observer can see that hypocrisy is flourishing in the name of religion. We cannot see our own back, but others can and they say that it is shocking. However, we are not willing to admit it.

Some like me who are brought up in the same fold and have noted the horror are shunned by the *sanatanis* as polluted. But we shall not be able to maintain this state of affairs for long. Not only I, but many Hindus like me have been able to see this sin and are making efforts to remove it. This Directory is a help in these efforts. It makes us conscious of our sins and shows us how low we are.

We should make use of this Directory. We do not lack funds for rendering service to the *Antyajas*. The donation of Shri Rameshwardas Birla has not been fully spent. In fact, service to the *Antyajas* is similar to khadi work; if there is faith many young men can earn a livelihood out of it. Thousands of pure and hard-working Hindus who do not get polluted or tired by this work can earn their livelihood by doing it. But where do we find capable Hindu teachers to run an *Antyaja* school? Everywhere I see adventurous Kutchis laying railway lines. But where are the artisans and the contractors to dig wells at market rate for the *Antyajas*? Any such teachers, masons, workers and contractors should write to Thakkar Bapa and get their names registered in his office.

No one should misinterpret this article. Anyone who wishes to give a donation may gladly do so. But the aim of publishing this Directory is to gauge the extent of our sins and enlarge the band of workers in the field.

May I suggest one thing to the compiler? There is no place in a directory for phrases like "It is likely to be such and such". A compiler has no right to make conjectures. He should set down what he observes. It is for the reader to do the guessing.

If villages with names like Gillespiepura or Brookhill occur, it will be interesting and also instructive to give details of the origin of these villages.

Also it would be worth while to give a line or two each to the prominent men among the *Antyajas*. If self-control and piety are observed in any of the *Antyajas*, the fact should be noted. The size of the Directory will not increase by incorporating such information. That can be dealt with in a line or two. It lends colour to the Directory and is useful. True art is never useless. The argument of some artists that the enmity between art and utility has existed for generations is not worth considering. We see daily that Nature abounds in art and experienced people say that art is filled to the brim with utility. There is not a single useless colour in a peacock's plumage; if we are not aware of their purpose the reason is our ignorance, not the extravagance of Nature.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-5-1929

321. *MY NOTES*

Tour Programme

Many readers complain that they have no intimation of my tours or of my absence from the Udyoga Mandir, and as a result, they are put to inconvenience and are not able to contact me if they want to. The complaint is justified. Therefore I give below my tour programme of Andhra Pradesh from May 5 onwards. I am leaving out the minor villages to be covered on one and the same day. Ordinarily, the practice is to begin the tour at six in the morning and to cover as many villages as possible by nine; to camp at nine; to start again at 5.30 and to settle down at eight. The places I give below are those where I shall stay during the day.

5th	Palivela
6th	Amalapuram
7th	Gollammadidada
8th & 9th	Rajahmundry
10th-13th	Nellore
14th	Nayudupeta
15th	Tirupati
16th	Madanapalle
17th	Anantapur
18th	Tadipatri
19th	Nandyal

20th	Kurnool
21st	Pattikonda
22nd	On train from Adoni to Bombay
23rd-27th	Bombay
28th -	Sabarmati
28th May to 10th June	Udyoga Mandir

The programme after the 10th of June has not been finalized yet. There is some talk about a tour in Almora. Most probably July and August will be spent at the Udyoga Mandir itself.

A Widow's Tale

A widow, twenty-three years old, who has given her name and address writes:[1]

My advice to this and other such sisters is that they should definitely remarry and put up with the obstacles that may come in their way. She will not need the help of her uncle and brothers if she gets a suitable husband. It is better to make allowances for the body than indulge in lustful thoughts. The best thing of course is that when desire enters one's mind one does not entertain it but tries to control it. But if in the absence of physical contact the mind remains engrossed in lustful thoughts as seems the case with this sister, I have no doubt it is one's duty to satisfy the body. There is no sin in a widow marrying, rather, there is as much sin in it as in a widower marrying. Widowhood is not the ultimate dharma. It is an ornament to those who can carry it. If this lady is courageous, she should put the case before her uncle and brothers and solicit their help. If they are unable to help, she should leave their house and seek refuge in an institution which renders assistance to widows. My advice to those brothers and uncles who are in the same position as the relatives of this woman is to see the signs of the time and to free helpless creatures like this sister from their misery.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-5-1929

[1] The letter is not translated here.

322. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

5.30 a.m., Sunday, May 5, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter and your wire. It distresses me to have to send you 'no' for my answer[1]. I am rarely for two nights at one place. The heat is daily increasing. There is no rest, no adequate arrangement for food except for me. And as I do not take milk, there is rarely good milk obtainable. There are no oranges as I have cut down my fruit requirement. In this state to bring you here in your present condition is too great a risk and too great a strain on the Reception Committee, which has to find motor accommodation. The most strenuous part of the tour commences from Nellore. I cannot procure for you all the comforts I must give you, without putting an undue strain on everybody about me. I am sure you do not want to do this. You will therefore hold yourself in patience till 23rd May after which I shall gladly take charge of you. This does not mean that I am myself put to any inconvenience. So many look after me and, what is more, I insist on my requirements being met. I have to if I am to finish the tour without collapsing. You need not therefore feel the slightest anxiety about me. I am in first-class health. But I am a big enough morsel for the people. Now all are waiting for me to be ready for the journey.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5371. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Mirabehn had apparently asked if she could join Gandhiji at Nellore where he was reaching on May 10; *vide* also pp. 346-7.

323. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

May 5, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

A letter from you after several days. You are going to act like a surgeon. The least softening on your part will ruin the children's interest. Take over the children's custody and . . . [1] will mend his ways or you will cease to be a party to his ruin only if you tell him plainly that he will not get a single penny.

Improve your health. Never subject yourself to worry. Having done one's duty one should leave the results in His hands. Take regular walks. Sleep as much as you find necessary, take fruit. Do not give up milk or ghee.

They did right in taking away Maitreyi. It would be good if she too improved her health.

You have improved your writing a lot. You have yet to improve your spelling. Take Kaku's help if he is there. Learn to consult the *Jodanikosh*.

The correct spelling is *pita*, not *pitta*; *padatu*, not *palatu*; *sweekar*, not *swikar*; *mahenat*, not *menat*.

I expect to reach Bombay on 23rd May.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—6: G. S. Gangabehnne, pp. 24-5

324. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

Silence Day [On or before *May 6, 1929*][2]

CHI. GANGADEVI,

How is your health now? Take nothing but milk and fruit. You must not at all exert yourself. Write to me. Tell Totaram too to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2532

[1] The name is omitted in the source.

[2] From the contents this letter appears to have been written before the letter of May 11, 1929. The Monday preceding it was May 6.

325. TELEGRAM TO MIRABEHN

[*May 6, 1929*][1]

MIRABAI
BHATAPOKHAR

DO NOT COME NELLORE TOUR TOO TRYING. HEAT INCREASING ACCOMMODATION CONVENIENCES LIMITED JOIN BOMBAY OR PROCEED THERE IF YOU LIKE. LOVE.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5372. Courtesy: Mirabehn

326. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Not Revised *May 6, 1929*

Knowing your nature my caution against your coming to Nellore has disturbed me. I hope however you will reconcile yourself to the inevitable. I do not know what Pyarelal wrote to you. My instructions to him were that you should join me at any point you chose *after* the tour. Jamnadas wired to come. I had to wire to him too not to come.[2] Almost the whole of the tour is being done by motor and those in charge are hard put to it to find room for an additional person. To have you with me in your convalescent state in this tour is too great a risk. If you are not comfortable at the Vidyapith you may go to Bombay. Bombay is cool enough in May and on Revashankerbhai's terrace, it is quite good. You could even go to Matheran and stay with Mathuradas. Now you will make your choice and be and feel happy.

This tour has been so uncertain that even the dates I have sent you are subject to variations. These do not much matter so far as the post is concerned. They do matter for telegrams. However now there are practically only two weeks left. This letter will be sent by a cyclist who will have to ford two streams

[1] In the telegram as delivered only the date is legible, not the month and year. But it is clear from the context that it was sent in May 1929. *Vide* also the following item.

[2] This telegram is not traceable.

and cover a distance of twelve miles to reach a branch line station. Whether it will catch the correct mail train I do not know. Well you cannot expect Western conveniences in typically Eastern tracts. And I see nothing wrong in people living miles apart not corresponding with one another daily through letters or wires. It used to be enough that they corresponded through their hearts. The so-called destruction of distance through physical extraneous means is not by any means an unmixed blessing. Whilst therefore we may make use of these Western contrivances as a concession to our weaknesses, let us not disturb ourselves when we cannot have them. On the contrary let us feel the freedom of the absence of these when it comes naturally to us.

It is early morning on the silence day and I have allowed myself a little relaxation. For it is relaxation to write what I need not. But now I must stop this love-letter. I must write other letters and edit *Navajivan* before 11.30 when the cyclist must leave. If you are in Patna by the time this reaches Bihar, you should get this on Thursday at the latest.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5373. Courtesy: Mirabehn

327. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

6.25 a.m., Silence Day, May 6, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your recent letters make me feel a little worried. I feel that you are forcing yourself to do what is beyond your strength. Do nothing out of false regard for me. I know that you find it difficult to stand alone. Do not believe that the dairy, or for that matter even the weaving factory, should run in any circumstances. I have made it my profession in life to break up homes and have felt no wrench in the heart at any time while doing so. I started doing this in the year 1891; that is, ever since I became independent, I have been doing nothing but that. I set up a home in Bombay and broke it up; did the same in Rajkot, broke it up and went to Bombay at a mere suggestion by Kevalram[1]. Then I broke up the home in India to go to South Africa for one year only. The books remained unused, the furniture and other house-

[1] Kevalram Mavji Dave, a Rajkot lawyer who encouraged Gandhiji to go to London to study law.

hold things became useless, the dress became useless and I had to buy everything new. I had built up the home in Natal with much thought, had exercised much care in buying furniture of my liking. I had furnished a room as a gymnasium. I threw up all this in a moment. I gave away many of the things, something to this friend and something to another. I returned to Bombay and set up a home in Girgaum. Manilal fell ill there and was at death's door. I decided that we could not live in that air. After hunting for a house everywhere, I chose the "Viller Villa." I got a rent-note drawn up and signed it. Revashanker, too, came to live with us. I took out a first-class season ticket, and rented an office in Bombay in Payne Gilbert's chambers. At last, I felt, I had settled down. Just then came a cable: 'Come to South Africa.' I left Ba under the care of Chhaganlal and went to South Africa, accompanied by some youths who cared to come with me. There was the same story there. I cannot tell now how much money I must have wasted on furniture. But I do not remember having ever felt a wrench in the heart in all these wild adventures. I felt lighter every time and convinced that that was God's will and the change was for my good. I shall, then, feel no wrench in my heart in breaking up this Ashram and building a new one. Yes, I crave for one thing — sincerity. Only those of you who can live sincerely may remain. I would not say that those who remain out of a false sense of shame or under pressure from others are sincere in what they do. Sincerity may sometimes appear cruel. You should not shrink from appearing to be cruel to me. Be sincere at any cost. Do not act unnaturally even for a minute. Please understand the meaning of the word *kritrim* here; it does not mean "making false show", but means "unnatural"[1]. Do what your conscience bids you do. That will be for your good and through that you will prosper in the end. This is what you can learn from me; though, to be sure, few have learnt it. You will be surprised when I tell you that Maganlal earned the certificate of having done so. You will remember how he used to oppose me in meetings. Sometimes he saw that I had felt upset. He would, on such occasions, come and tell me the next morning. "Bapu, haven't you taught me to oppose you whenever I do not agree with you?" I would then smile at him and calm down. Once we had an argument about spinning. I took one side and he another. He did not understand what I was saying and all the time I was burning with misery. He saw the expression on my

[1] Gandhiji uses the English word.

face and he, too, felt miserable. But he did not give up his stand. I saw in the end that my argument was not based on experience. The matter was trivial, but Maganlal felt that he would be doing no service to me by yielding to my whims. I recollect many such incidents. There was a reason, too, why he clung to me. He himself explained it in one of his letters. I did not remember the matter at all.

What more shall I write and how may I reassure you so that you may have no fear? You should be as fearless as I am. That requires only faith in God. Who are we? A mere imaginary point such as cannot be drawn on a board. He is the only Reality and is all that exists. Doesn't the *Gita* say, "*Sarvata eva sarva*"[1]? Why should we, then, form all kinds of plans in our minds? We should do, to the best of our understanding, the task that lies at hand and live with our hearts for ever light.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written this letter to you after writing a similar letter to Mirabehn. She has also made me feel worried. She has asked for permission to come to Nellore and join me. I have had to send a wire to her saying "No". And so I have written a letter to soothe her.

I have not read this letter after finishing it.

From a photostat of the Gujarāti: G.N. 5412

328. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

RAJOLE,
May 6, 1929

SISTERS,

I am writing this in a village far away from a railway station. One must cross a river to go to any place from here. There is no bridge, so the village is like an island. When the river is in flood it deposits silt on the land round the village. Hence the soil here is very fertile and some of the residents are fairly well off. They have tempted me to come here with the prospect of getting contributions. And I do get them.

[1] XI. 40

From Kakinada, a lady named Durgabai has been touring with us. Her husband earns Rs. 4,000 a year; out of this the lady spends about Rs. 2,000 on a women's school. She herself teaches Hindi in that school, as also spinning. About 80 girls know Hindi. The lady is kind and hard-working. I think that she has faith in her work, but not equal knowledge about how to do it. She cannot be said to know Hindi very well. Her spinning, too, is of indifferent quality. She says that she has no one in Kakinada to help or guide her. Consequently, it seems, her abilities are not being fully used.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3697

329. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 6, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I sent away today's letters at 11 o'clock for being posted. I got the post sent by you in the afternoon. I had put the letter to Ramniklal in a separate envelope and posted it immediately after writing it. I cannot believe that he did not get it. Please find out.

The money received from Akyab should be handed over to the Spinners' Association. You must, of course, have sent an acknowledgement to Akyab. It is all right if Yogendra has left. Sarojinidevi's problem is a little difficult. She is a good woman, but starts crying for every trivial reason. Padma gives her enough cause to feel miserable.

I should be happy if you have been able to arrange for Radha and Rukhi to go somewhere. If, however, you cannot manage it easily, we should endure the present condition. I am sure Jamnalalji will do something. That is a comfort, but that is also the trouble. So long as such facilities are available, we are forced to avail ourselves of them. If we do so, we no longer remain poor, but only make a show of being so. This is the fruit of my divided mind. Our ideal attitude should be that we would go nowhere. As the poor cannot leave their villages, so we too should not leave our place but meet death there. Can we, however, cultivate such a state of mind by forcing ourselves? When I tolerate whole households being upset for my sake, what could I say to others? I see that the owner of the house in which we have put

up today is imprisoned in his own home for my sake. And still Venkatappayya feels that the facilities are not adequate!

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5413

330. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

May 6, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have your letter of the 2nd. The one you wrote on the first will reach me after being redirected from place to place. You may, if you have to, increase the quantity of milk. It would not matter if the green vegetable is half fried. I hope you chew your bread well when you take it with a vegetable. Do you clean your teeth and gums by massaging and rubbing them with your finger after you have eaten? Do you brush your teeth in the morning as is the native custom? When you retire for the night do you rub your teeth clean and rinse your mouth? Whenever you have the slightest suggestion of heaviness in your stomach you should miss a meal or take light food. It is all right that you gave up fruit. What you can eat is enough. From now on till the 14th address your letters to Nellore. We are leaving Nellore on the 15th.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6779

331. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, RAJAHMUNDRY

May 7, 1929

I tender my thanks to you for the addresses of welcome and for the money that you have given me for the Khadi Fund. There are certain matters in the addresses presented to me and let me say a few words regarding them. I have not forgotten the fact that I visited this place some time back.

Among others, I take first the address of welcome presented by the Municipal Council, in which the problem of untouchability has been referred to. It is also stated there that "We members of the Council, look forward with great hopes when your efforts for

complete prohibition (of drink and other intoxicants) would attain success." It is very surprising to me to see these two references. Let me tell you, the work is not mine alone in the matter of prohibition and the removal of untouchability. The responsibility lies more on the Municipal Councillors than on a private individual, and it rests very largely on the intelligent public. It would be an illusion that I am going to achieve these miracles. I am only urging you to be awake to your duty to your country which is now in intense suffering on account of these two evils. If we do not do our duty by our motherland, we will have been born in vain, and we would not be doing our dharma.

I wish to place another matter before the Municipal Council for consideration. While I was coming here, I noticed that a road was particularly bad and some were badly kept. Truly you must make your Municipality an ideal municipality. This is considered to be a very sacred place and many come here to bathe in the Gautami, and if all filth and sewage water is to be found outside, what do you think the result will be ultimately? It is therefore necessary that the town should be kept neat and clean and sanitary without any stench. But you know it better than I do. I congratulate the Municipality on its khaddar work. . . .

I hear that there is one Hindu Samaj working here for a very long time but Mr. N. Subba Rao Pantulu (the President of that Samaj) tells me that it is not now running satisfactorily. Those who recognize Hindu dharma ought to take interest in the study of the *Bhagavad Gita*. It is regrettable that people do not evince sufficient interest when there is such a useful institution by their side to study *Bhagavad Gita* and learn the guiding principles of their life.

References have been made in the addresses to the *varanganas* (the fallen sisters). It is a matter for deep shame that there should be still a class of our sisters living the life of prostitution. You should not rest satisfied until there is not even one fallen sister amongst you. You must not sleep until you accomplish this and wipe out the blot of the whole nation. Remember that this could be done only through your purity and moral integrity. I request you all to be united without any jealousies and distinctions and not to engender communal feelings, as we are all trying to attain swaraj and we are all soldiers of one army. We shall win by our strength of spirit, by our calm courage and by our faith in freedom. Make the boycott of foreign cloth complete and effective. Do not touch a piece of foreign cloth, give work to all your workers by insisting on khadi and khadi alone. Do not wait

for others to begin and other places to lead. Here, in Rajahmundry you have colleges and other institutions. You have many great men doing social service and public work. If you all join hands and work unitedly, I have no doubt that we would achieve our goal early.

The Hindu, 10-5-1929

332. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

SITANAGARAM,
May 8, 1929

Could you please get a reputed certified auditor to audit the account books the Bengal P.C.C.?

I enclose herewith the letter received from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Encl. 1

From a copy: C.W. 7880. Courtesy: G.D. Birla

333. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Wednesday [May 8, 1929][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Your letter has given me much peace. It does credit to you that, even after you had sent the luggage to the station, you gave up the idea of leaving. I need not write more just now. We shall discuss the matter after I return. I will not insist on anything. If all of you can arrive at a joint decision even before I return, you may certainly do so.

I am glad that Chi. Purushottam has gone to Morvi. The vaid[2] has produced on me the impression of being a very good one. Let Purushottam write to me regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine–Part I, pp. 52-3

[1] From *Bapuna Patro –7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 92

[2] Vaidya Lakshmiprasad Vishwanath of Morvi, also known as Khelshankarbhai.

334. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

May 8, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Two letters from you are lying with me. I would certainly be happy if Narandas and Ramniklal decided to stay on. Read the accompanying letters; you will know from them what my ideas are.

You may, if you wish, wait till I return. In my view it is not necessary. Everyone should judge his own strength and live as he can; make your own plans. Whatever be my wishes, only what is possible can be done. And the goal we shall reach by doing what is possible will be the right one. Any decision which all of you take in my absence will be more independent, though it is only after my death that your decisions will be completely independent. At present, the thought, 'what Bapu wishes and what he would think', will trouble all of you.

The earlier Radha goes to Sinhgadh or Matheran, the better.

You need not worry if I get up before dawn and sit down to reply to your letters. I take from my body only as much work as it can give. When I can rise early without difficulty and when there is other work to be attended to during daytime it would be wrong on my part not to get up.

Kaka has reserved Mathuradas Purushottam for his work. It is for that that he is returning. Do not, therefore, expect any help from him.

Jaisukhlal's problem has become difficult to solve. I shall have to think more about him. Bring it up when I return there. Call him to the Ashram.

Who told you that my health was not good? It is excellent. Imam Saheb goes on, but with difficulty.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Enclosed with this is a letter from Raghunath. I think that we should permit his wife to come.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5414

335. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

May 8, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letters. One makes progress gradually while one goes on doing one's duty. I take comfort in the faith that this progress will ever continue.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 507. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

336. *LETTER TO SURENDRA*

May 8, 1929

CHI. SURENDRA,

I was surprised to read your note. It contains a serious error of reasoning. Your conduct is unnatural. The right thing is for everyone to live according to his or her nature. If a man six feet tall tries to look five feet by bending, he is guilty [of deceiving others]. A man of sincere humility may ride an elephant and a hypocrite may be living in a hut. Because a person who feels crushed by the burden of his vow releases himself from it, does it mean that another whom his vow may help to progress should give up that vow? If all others live in rented quarters, what should I do? If all are such as cannot live except in this manner, I know what to do. But I would have to think what I should do if a person like you plans living in a rented room. Supposing others wish to beget children, would you, in order to be in their company, marry and live as they do?

Before writing the note, you should have discussed the matter with me. If it is beyond your strength to observe the vows of the Ashram, you may by all means live in a rented room. If, on the other hand, you have that strength, if you have faith in the vows, admit your error and withdraw your note.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 91-2

337. *LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR*

May 8, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have your letter. If even after having increased the quantity of milk you feel hungry you should increase the quantity of bread by two *tolas*. Since your weight is increasing it does not matter if you feel hungry now and then. If the weight keeps on increasing you should know that you are taking the correct diet. Your diet need not now be regulated from here. I give below the maximum limit which may serve you as a guide:

Milk 3 seers-120 *tolas*
Bread 10 *tolas*
Grapes 4 *tolas*
Lemons 2 (with soda)
Vegetable 5 *tolas*
Almonds kernel 1 *tola*
Alfonso mangoes 2
Butter 3 *tolas*

This is the *maximum* measure. You are not to reach it today, maybe you can never reach it. You have however to go up to the limit mentioned above provided a physical check-up shows that you have no sore mouth, no complaint of belching, that you do not pass gas except while evacuating your bowels. It does not matter if you take an almond or two from now, provided you chew them well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6780

338. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI

May 8, 1929

Chhaganlal writes and tells me that you, too, may want to stay on in accordance with the new idea I have put forward. I should be happy if you did. But even this you should not do against your wishes. I see nothing wrong in Tara living in any suitable institution to acquire knowledge of the letters. . . .[1] I suppose you will do the same work that you are doing wherever you are. If there is any merit in the Ashram, sooner or later you will be drawn to it.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 92

339. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SITANAGARAM

May 8, 1929

I am very happy for having come to this Ashram[2]. I had heard of this Ashram before. I have now seen its various activities and I am very satisfied. I hope the neighbouring villages would be greatly benefited by the useful work of this Ashram. The first and foremost thing that is being done here is, to my mind, with regard to khaddar. Something is being done in the neighbouring villages also in that direction but much more is expected of them. You have to work the charkha always and on it rests the wealth of your country and its salvation. Of all the instruments of service the charkha is the most powerful and promises you wealth. You will produce wonderful results, only you should get into that work regularly. You must all co-operate in and help this activity.

I hope you will all co-operate with and help the Ashram to achieve still better results in all directions. You must send your boys and girls to it and see they get real education here. Help this good Ashram with all your might. I congratulate you on your heroism in banishing the drink evil and your having paid the punitive tax of Rs. 7,500 for that. Such struggles are bound to come. Be bold and face them. In the huge attempt for the

[1] As in the source

[2] Gautami Satyagraha Ashram

attainment of swaraj such loss of money or even loss of life is nothing.

I am collecting money for the Khadi Fund. I wish to get some money from you also. I believe I have received some money from the rich. They might give a large sum. But even if you poor people offer the least pie, I will be pleased as if it were a large sum of money. When I visited Bihar and Utkal I collected even pies. Those pies went to give food and clothing to many starving villagers who were asked to spin and renew their charkha plying. In our cause every little help counts.

The Hindu, 11-5-1929

340. A BRILLIANT CAREER

Forward, a creation of Deshbandhu, fully lived up to its name and the aspirations of its distinguished founder. By its dash, enterprise, resourcefulness and, above all, fearlessness it proved a thorn in the side of the Government. It was therefore marked out for destruction by means fair or foul. It has had several prosecutions launched against it for daring to speak out the nation's mind by calling a spade a spade. But it outlived all the prosecutions. It rather thrived upon them and the imprisonment of its editor and printer. But it was impossible for a moneyless newspaper to survive vindictive damages. The Judge's verdict may be right though his leanings one can read in his judgment. But the Government's action and, which is the same thing, the Railway Company's action was wrong. If the article of the *Forward* was an overstatement, surely neither of the parties attacked could suffer pecuniary damage, for they were too powerful. And no damage exacted by them could possibly recoup them if they did suffer material damage at all. If it was a question of moral damage, I suggest that neither the Government nor the Company had any reputation to keep in such matters as were the subject-matter of criticism by the *Forward*. In any case their *amour-propre* should have been satisfied by the obtaining of the precious verdict.

But the application for compulsory liquidation shows that the object of the action was not compensation for the plaintiffs but it was destruction of the defendant. Well, they have had their satisfaction. They are welcome to it. Only they are riding for a fall. The *Forward* so vindictively crushed will live in the lives of the people. The fire lighted by it will rage with redoubled fury

in the breasts of thousands as it will no longer be able to find legitimate vent through the columns of their favourite paper. Though during my tour in the villages of Andhra I cannot follow the events in their proper sequence, I observe that a mean attempt is being made even to prevent the publication of the *New Forward*. The legal resourcefulness of the brains that are backing the national movement in Bengal against tremendous odds may circumvent the Government. But even if they cannot cope with the legal and extra-legal powers possessed and unscrupulously used by the Government, they will still have deserved the gratitude of the country for bravely and fearlessly engaging in an unequal fight with the Government. A spirit has been awakened that cannot be crushed by any power on earth. *Forward* is dead, long live *Forward*.

Young India, 9-5-1929

341. IN ANDHRA DESHA [–IV]

The following itinerary with collections will show that the pressure continues, if also the varied experiences in the different villages and the exuberant enthusiasm of the people are enriching one's knowledge and faith:

Total collections already acknowledged in *Young India*, Rs. 1,11,653-9-7½.

West Godavari District:

24-4-1929 — Potunuru, Rs. 1,810-9-0 (Rs. 78 Lalaji Fund); Dosapadu, 50-0-0; Kovvali, 1,077-13-3; Palagudem, 50-0-0; Denduluru, 751-10-0; Gundugalanu, 1,173-0-9.

25-4-1929 — Kolamuru, Rs. 128-0-0; Arthavaram, 116-0-0; Ganapavaram, 401-0-0; Saripalli, 18-0-0; Javvanapalli, 51-0-0; Nidamarru, 15-0-0; Kottapali, 25-0-0; Cheruku Ganama Agraharam, 100-0-0; Tadepalligudem, 1,924-4-6; Mandalaparru, 116-0-0; Panuduvva, 162-0-0; (Rs. 20 Lalaji Fund); Pippara, 201-6-3; Palamuru, 116-0-0; Bhimavaram, 2,567-0-6; Viravasaram, 116-1-0; Undi, 329-0-0; Akividu, 1333-13-4.

26-4-1929 — Penumantra, Rs. 3,319-6-6; Alamuru, 116-0-0; Velagaleru, 310-0-0; Poduru, 240-8-3; Jinnuru, 127-0-6; Brodipeta (Palacole), 57-4-0; On the way, 7-0-0; Matlapalem, 2,103-4-9 (Rs. 100 Lalaji Fund); Yelamanchili, 152-0-3; Gummaluru, 77-0-0; Narsapur Bar Association, 116-0-0; Palacole, 2,459-3-0; Pandita Valluru, 61-0-0.

27-4-1929 — Achanta, 1,118-5-8½ (Rs. 50 Lalaji Fund); Deva, 179-0-0; Penumanchili, 42-9-0; Kodamanchili, 63-0-0; Achanta Vemavaram,

90-0-0; Penugonda, 505-0-0; Eletipadu, 459-6-4; Tanuku, 1,577-4-8½ (Rs. 3 Lalaji Fund); Duvva, 232-0-0; Taliparru, 40-0-0; Vodduru, 116-0-0; Tetali, 35-8-0; Brahmanagudem, 116-0-0; Nidadavole, 251-0-6; Nelaturu, 81-0-0.

28-4-1929 — Chagallu, Rs. 397-15-6; Devarapalli, 506-5-3; Dommeru, 500-0-0; Kovvuru, 943-13-6 (Rs. 310 Lalaji Fund); Isukapalli Paugidi, 4-11-3; On the way, 5-2-0; East Krishna (subsequent collections), 20-0-0; East Godavari (collections on the way), 90-3-5; Vizagapatam, Rs. 3,081-6-9.

30-4-1929 — Bhimlipatam, Rs. 116-0-0; Reddipalli Agràharam, 116-0-0; Jonnavalasa, 722-0-0; Vizianagaram, 2,986-14-4; Bhimasingi, 116-0-0; Kottavalasa, 29-0-0; Bhimali, 10-0-0: Simhachalam, 123-12-0; Sabbavaram, 10-9-0; Chodavaram, 1,142-5-0.

1-5-1929 — Anakapalli, Rs. 2,262-7-9; Vizagapatam, (subsequent collections), 52-4-0; Kokkirajipalli, 13-2-3; Yelamanchili, 180-0-0;

2-5-1929 — Etikoppaka, 1,167-11-3 Kailasapatam, 1,127-0-3; Nakkapalli, 116-0-0; Godicharle, 36-5-10; Estimated value of jewels of Vizagapatam Dt., 700-0-0; West Godavari Dt. (subsequent collections), 0-4-0; Guntur Dt. (subsequent collections), 46-8-0.

Total Rs. 1,54,961-15-0.

I must add too that the time sense of the co-workers has become most agreeably keen and there is a pleasant rivalry among them to conform to the scheduled time. The result is that we are at present travelling and taking meetings with the regularity of an express train. Exactly at the stated time of departure the smiling face of Deshabhakta and local friends greet me in the morning and in the evening. This regularity and comparative orderliness in the meetings make the tour in the extreme heat of summer not only bearable but even pleasant. The eagerness with which men and women bring their rupees and their pies fills one with hope and joy. I am writing these notes just after a women's meeting in Tuni[1]. An old manifestly poor woman nearly 75 years old bent double with the weight of her years but with a benign face and carrying sparkling eyes put into my hands four annas without any apology traceable in those never to be forgotten eyes. Immediately after a khadi-clad middle-aged woman put into my hands five rupees and a copper. I straightway asked her: "Whose donation is greater, yours or this old sister's?" Pat came the bold, quick, decisive reply: "Both are equal." I was pleased beyond measure and was glad to be nonplussed. I was unprepared for this most intelligent and penetrating reply. She added: "I have been inte-

[1] On May 2

rested in the national movement for many years. I have always contributed to the best of my ability. I believe in khadi and I always wear it." This is only one sample from the inexhaustible store-house of joyful experiences it has been my privilege to have. I must however pass on to other matters.

Workers Meet

At Tanuku there was the usual meeting of workers which I always have between three and four in the afternoon at every place, more especially at the end of the tour in each district. We were about 100 workers. All kinds of questions were discussed. The question whether Congressmen's contesting seats in Taluk Boards, District Boards, Municipalities and Councils did not interfere with khadi and other constructive work has been cropping up everywhere. At this meeting it came with greater insistence. What I have found is that these bodies take up more energy of good workers than they are worth. Some of the best men had to leave their Municipalities in order to be able to do more solid work. There is too much wrangling, too much jealousy, too much wire-pulling and too much self-seeking in these bodies to enable honest workers to hold out for long. The one advantage that was claimed by a Congressman on behalf of the policy of Congressmen interesting themselves in these bodies was that the presence of Congressmen introduced a healthy mentality of resistance in the place of obsequiousness. On the whole I am inclined to think that this mentality of resistance is purchased at too great a price, if it means sacrifice of constructive work. I therefore suggested to the workers at Tanuku that if they were satisfied that there was no effective service possible in taking interest in these bodies or in taking part in the elections, they should not think of them even as they would not if no Congressmen were contesting and participating in these elections. When choice has got to be made, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that constructive work is any day far superior to working in these bodies. After all, whilst we have thousands of Congress workers, there can only be a few men in each district who can enter these so-called elective institutions. Let those who believe in them enter them. But let not the others who do not believe in them betray jealousy or impatience in respect of those who enter them.

Another suggestion made was that yarn should be brought from districts where it was spun to those districts where owing to absence of grinding poverty there was no one to spin but where there were weavers who would gladly weave khadi if they were

supplied with hand-spun yarn. My answer was an emphatic no, so long as the yarn could be used up by the district producing it. The secret of successful hand-spinning lies in the yarn being woven where it is spun. There should be no impatience about weaning local weavers from foreign or mill-spun yarn so long as there is no local yarn produced and so long as there is no yarn to be had in one's district. What can however be done is to popularize self-spinning or sacrificial spinning as much as possible. If such yarn is produced in abundance it should keep all the available weavers in a district going.

A Model Co-operative Society

It was at Vizianagaram that I discovered a Khaddar Co-operative Society which appeared to me to be a very successful venture and without an equal in all India. I offer no apology for copying the following from the address of the Society:[1]

> The cloth in our depot is all made by us solely out of the cotton purchased by us and we have imported none of it from other places. We have resolved not to import khaddar either from other provinces or even from other districts in our province, as we believe such importation will prejudice the development of khaddar even as importation of foreign cloth.
>
> We also believe the object of the khaddar movement is to develop khaddar in each place by spreading spinning and weaving locally as wide as possible and securing livelihood for as many people as possible. . . .
>
> In some cases, our prices are higher than the prices of A.I.S.A. by Rs. 0-0-6 per yard. We humbly offer a pair of (woven) trousers and a blanket 2½ yards wide and 3 yards long, both being the work of Pappu Jagannayakulu, who is a weaver and also a Director of our Society.
>
> We in all humility pray that these may be kept in the Ashram as exhibits.

These pieces, the work of Pappu Jagannayakulu, will certainly be kept in the Ashram Museum as exhibits. They are both unique pieces of their kind. I also obtained from my host in Vizagapatam, Sr. Banoji Rao, a zamindar, two pieces of very fine khaddar made in his zamindary village Bontalakoduru. These two pieces are respectively 53 and 66 years old.

I have got the by-laws of this model Society. They are quite effective. They provide for the membership of spinners and weavers. They make it obligatory for members to purchase khadi produced by the Society, as also to bring to the Society for sale

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

all khadi or yarn manufactured by the members. I reproduce from these interesting by-laws the following[1] which appears under the heading 'Trade':

I congratulate the Society on the very useful work that it is doing and I hope that it will have a progressively successful career.

Young India, 9-5-1929

342. *A COMPLEX PROBLEM*

It is not without diffidence that I approach the question raised by Rev. B. de Ligt in his open letter to me with regard to my attitude towards war. To remain silent at the risk of being misunderstood is an easy way out of the difficult situation I find myself in. To say that I made a mistake in participating in war on the occasions in question would be easier still. But it would be unfriendly not to answer questions put in the friendliest manner; and I must not pretend repentance when I do not feel it. My anxiety to avoid a discussion of the question does not proceed from want of conviction, but it proceeds from the fear that I may not be able to make my meaning clear and thereby create an impression about my attitude towards war which I do not desire. Often do I find language to be a poor vehicle for expressing some of my fundamental sentiments. I would therefore urge Mr. B. de Ligt and other fellow war-resisters not to mind my faulty or incomplete argument and still less to mind my participation in war which they may be unable to reconcile with my professions about war. Let them understand me to be uncompromisingly against all war. If they cannot appreciate my argument, let them impute my participation to unconscious weakness. For I would feel extremely sorry to discover that my action was used by anyone to justify war under certain conditions.

But having said this much I must adhere to the position taken up in the article[2] which is the subject-matter of Mr. B. de Ligt's letter. Let the European war resisters appreciate one vital difference between them and me. They do not represent exploited nations, I represent the most exploited nation on earth. To use an unflattering comparison they represent the cat and I re-

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVII, pp. 269-71; also Vol. XXXVI, pp. 85-6.

present the mouse. Has a mouse even the sense of non-violence? Is it not a fundamental want with him to strive to offer successful violence before he can be taught to appreciate the virtue, the grandeur, the supremacy of the law of non-violence—ahimsa —in the field of war? May it not be necessary for me as a representative of the mouse tribe to participate in my principal's desire for wreaking destruction even for the purpose of teaching him the superiority of non-destruction?

Here the analogy of the cat and the mouse ends. The mouse has no capacity in him to alter his nature. A human being, however debased or fallen he may be, has in him the capacity of rising to the greatest height ever attained by any human being irrespective of race or colour. Therefore even whilst I may go with my countrymen a long way in satisfying their need for preparation for war, I should do so in the fullest hope of weaning them from war and of their seeing one day its utter futility. Let it be remembered that the largest experiment known to history in mass non-violence is being tried by me even as I seem to be lending myself for the purpose of war. For want of skill the experiment may fail, but the war-resister in Europe should strain every nerve to understand and appreciate the phenomenon going on before him in India of the same man trying the bold experiment in non-violence whilst hobnobbing with those who would prepare for war.

It is part of the plan of non-violence that I should share the feelings of my countrymen if I would ever expect to bring them to non-violence. The striking fact is that India including the educated politician is *nolens volens* driven to the belief that non-violence alone will free the masses from the thraldom of centuries. It is true that all have not followed out the logical consequences of non-violence. Who can? In spite of my boast that I know the truth of non-violence and try my utmost best to practise it, I fail often to follow out the logical conclusions of the doctrine. The working of nature's processes in the human breast is mysterious and baffles interpretation.

This I know that if India comes to her own demonstrably through non-violent means, India will never want to carry a vast army, an equally grand navy and a grander air force. If her self-consciousness rises to the height necessary to give her a non-violent victory in her fight for freedom, the world values will have changed and most of the paraphernalia of war would be found to be useless. Such an India may be a mere day-dream, a childish folly. But such in my opinion is undoubtedly the implication of an India becoming free through non-violence.

When that freedom comes, if it ever does, it will have come through a gentlemanly understanding with Great Britain. But then it will not be an imperialistic haughty Britain manœuvring for world supremacy but a Britain humbly trying to serve the common end of humanity. India will no longer then be helplessly driven into Britain's wars of exploitation but hers will be the voice of a powerful nation seeking to keep under restraint all the violent forces of the world.

Whether all these fanciful ideas are ever realized or not, my own lifeline is cast. I can no longer in any conceivable circumstance take part in Britain's wars. And I have already said in these pages that if India attains (what will be to me so-called) freedom by violent means she will cease to be a country of my pride; that time would be a time for me of civil death. There can therefore never be any question of my participation direct or indirect in any war of exploitation by India.

But I have already pointed out in these pages that fellow war-resisters in the West are participants in war even in peace time inasmuch as they pay for the preparations that are being made for it and otherwise sustain governments whose main occupation is such preparation. Again all activity for stopping war must prove fruitless so long as the causes of war are not understood and radically dealt with. Is not the prime cause of modern wars the inhuman race for exploitation of the so-called weaker races of the earth?

Young India, 9-5-1929

343. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

May 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got the letter in which you write about the theft. We need not believe that the thief, who stole something from under the bed on which the women were sleeping, might have done harm to them. There is only one person doing this; he is familiar with the place and is content to steal such stray articles. If he gets an opportunity, he would carry away everything. He is no more afraid of us. These thefts will go on so long as we are guilty of hiding the truth in one way or another. We cannot, however, rid ourselves of guilty thoughts by an unnatural effort. We should, therefore, protect ourselves as well as we can by arranging night-

watch and taking similar steps, and remain composed. If required, we should be able to sleep during the day and keep awake at night without injury to our health. I hope the women did not get frightened.

Your having dreamt about me has no significance. My health is very good and in a few days we shall meet.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5415

344. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, POLAVARAM*

May 9, 1929

I feel very glad to have come here into this remote hilly tract, which is not within the easy reach of the workers of Hindustan. Owing to the altered state of things, it has become difficult for me to reach here. I hear that owing to the intimidation of the police, the boatman that had agreed to let me cross the river (at Purushothapatnam) refused to come and that, in spite of the police intimidation and threat, the owner of the steam launch Mr. Churukuvada Ramaswami has been kind enough to bring me here. It may be a human Government and its messengers put together may devise many means to cause obstruction but they are frustrated by the Governor of the whole Universe. If we are blessed with His grace, everything will be all right. I am sure He does not want us to suffer for long; it is my faith that we will all be happy soon. I want you to take a lesson from this. You need not be afraid of the sight of any man. Fear God and none else. What can the police do? All their power might be exercised on the physical body but they cannot exercise their power on the soul. For the things that they can do against us we should not be provoked to take revenge. The story of Rama tells you that Rama did not cause evil to Ravana but Ravana himself by his vile deeds brought ruin to himself. What is wanted now is fearlessness, but you should not bear malice or any vengeance against anyone. You must have a clean spirit, clean body and clean heart. You must abstain from drinking toddy, etc. If you feel that you are losing money every day, be busy with the charkha.

You must all live in brotherhood, whether Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians or others. I have come here to tell you these words. You must remember these things. We can do nothing and

are useless if we are afraid of others. In the creation of God there is no distinction between the high and the low. God created all equal. At a short distance from you there is one Satyagraha Ashram founded by Dr. Subrahmanyam. I hear that there is another called Swaraj Ashram at this place, Polavaram. All of you can take advantage of these two. Boys are educated, trained in spinning and other work and good habits. Help these institutions and become worthy sons.

The Hindu, 11-5-1929

345. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

KAVALI,
May 10, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHAR,

What a weight upon your mind to have both Kamala and Krishna with the severe attacks you have described. I suppose these domestic troubles must also be taken as part of national discipline. I am glad that Krishna does not require an operation.

You may not know that Andhra Desha is noted for nature-cure men and some of them are really brave fellows, brave in the sense that they relentlessly pursue the search without counting the cost. This remedy has in many cases answered where everything else has failed. And it has the merit of simplicity combined with perfect harmlessness even where it may not result in a cure. I wish you would turn your attention to these cures. Of course in this strict dieting plays a most important part. Where patients do not submit to the dietetic prescriptions, the treatment becomes valueless.

I take it that in spite of Bengal's desire for a postponement, A. I. C. C. will meet on the advertised date.

I had your telegram about Almora. I shall hope to leave Ashram after the tenth of June so as to reach Almora on the 15th.

Yes, you can have me for U.P. and the Punjab and Delhi for the whole of September and October, if October is also wanted. About the Allahabad Municipal Board, you shall decide. I am fed up with addresses. You may therefore accept on my behalf if there is any political or other advantage to be derived from it. If I have received any communication from the Board I have no recollection of it.

Andhra P. C. C. has asked for extension of time up to June on the plea that most of the Congress workers are busy in their own districts with arrangements for the tour and hence are unable to supply the information I wanted. This fact in itself is an evidence of the chaos that reigns supreme in our house. For what I see throughout Andhra is true almost of every province.

I have failed to get any satisfaction from Utkal.

I expect the Tamilnad Secretary on Sunday at Nellore.

I have written[1] to Ghanshyamdas Birla instead of Ramjeebhai to find an auditor of repute for auditing Bengal P. C. C.'s accounts.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

From Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum

346. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Friday, May 10, 1929

You should be bold and pass any resolutions and introduce any changes that you wish to regarding the Ashram. In running the Ashram have I not always insisted on one thing, namely, to let the person entrusted with a task to do as he pleases and according to his ability and never to interfere with it? Through the medium of the Ashram we are conducting an experiment in absolute 'democracy'[2]. I am writing this in great haste.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 104

[1] *Vide* p. 353.
[2] Gandhiji has used the English word.

347. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BUCHIREDDIPALEM[1]

May 10, 1929

I was informed that Buchireddipalem is the richest place in the whole of Andhra Desha, I have my own spies even as the Government has. (Laughter) Although I may not be able to imitate the virtues, if any, of the Government, at least I may follow their vices in this respect. My spies satisfy me that I must have at least ten thousand rupees from this place and you must make up the balance. I am a *bhikshu* (a beggar) on behalf of India's beggar millions and I am collecting for *Daridranarayana* who will not rest till you gave as much as you can. I was in Nellore in 1921 and you will all remember one Dakshinamurti Hanumantha Rao who was almost like a son to me and at whose instance the Satyagraha Ashram of Pallipad was started. He devoted his life for the same. I stand an eye-witness to testify to the satyagraha he made at Pallipad in regard to the solution of the untouchability problem there. Till now I have not heard anyone else excepting Mr. C. V. Krishna taking any interest and sticking to that Ashram. I have a great desire that the institution started by Hanumantha Rao should be made to go on. For that we want workers. So workers must come out of you to join the Ashram and carry on the work.

To you, ladies, I appeal to you to help in bringing *Ramarajya* in this country. You know that unless you act as Sita did, you will not be doing the needful. Jewellery is no ornament to you as your men are not free, as your motherland is not free; but it is the purity of heart that adorns a woman, it is love of mother country that becomes an ornament to you. Therefore have pure hearts and make a sacrifice of your jewellery for the sake of your starving sisters and brothers and give them work.

I learn from the address presented to me by the Union of your place that your roads are kept clean and well. I must congratulate you if it is really so. I thank you very much for the purses you have presented for the Lalaji Memorial and Khadi Fund. I expect you will make the purse amount to ten thousand before I leave your place.

The Hindu, 11-5-1929

[1] At the meeting, Gandhiji was presented a purse of Rs. 7,000.

348. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KAVALI

May 10, 1929

I am pleased to receive your purse and address and also the presents of cloth. This cloth presented is very nice. It is given for *Daridranarayana* and you know I can't wear it. I am therefore putting the same for sale to get its worth in money for Him. I see you can spin very fine yarn in your place. My earnest desire is that you should give up foreign cloth and take to swadeshi. Your Taluka Board should make efforts to spread khaddar. It is said in the address that attempts are being made for its production. If you make strenuous efforts there will be no difficulty. You must put an end to drink evil. Hindus, Mahommedans and Christians must work in comradeship because in the work of your motherland there is no distinction of caste. Untouchability should be wiped out. It is a blot on Hinduism.

The Hindu, 14-5-1929

349. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

[After *May 10, 1929*][1]

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have your letter of the 10th.

It is not that soda is to be taken necessarily with lemon. You were asked to take lemons along with soda because the combination produces some digestive secretions. Since acid things do not agree with you I have suggested that you should take lemons separately. However, you can certainly take lemons along with your vegetables and the soda too may be taken by itself with water.

My suggestion about alfonso mangoes too is to save you from acidity. There is no harm in taking *langra* mangoes. Maybe it would not matter if you had a mango or two even now. You may, if you want to, try it.

It is good to refrain from butter for a week or two. There is not—there should not be—much difference between pure butter

[1] This was sent in reply to the addressee's letter of May 10, 1929.

from a dairy and what is extracted at home. Home-made butter should be regarded as impure if, and to the extent that, it retains acidity.

For the present it is enough that you get some sleep.

Butter can be taken with bread; another way is to take it with milk.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6783

350. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 11, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I am in an out-of-the-way place under the *pankha*. But the wind itself is blowing hot. And we have to start off at 5.30 on an 80-mile journey. Imam Saheb has nearly collapsed. He is dragging on. Prabhavati too is feeling the heat. I am praying that during these last ten days, we may be able to pull through. I hope you have got over the shock of detention. The meeting in Bombay will be all the more precious. I am personally 1st class, because I insist on what I need.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5374. Courtesy: Mirabehn

351. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am writing this letter at a station far away from Nellore. Your letter of the 7th is lying in front of me.

If you think it necessary, you may certainly call a meeting of all the inmates of the Ashram. I expect to be there between May 28 and June 10. All of you should consult among yourselves and fix any date that you like during that period. However, think carefully about the usefulness of calling a meeting at this juncture. The real thing to consider is where you, the workers, stand

and what you wish; who can help in that? You should, however, do what seems best to all of you.

I have known for long that Bhagwandas is crazy. I write a few things to him occasionally.

Do as you suggest about the sum of Rs. 125 belonging to the Ramashram.

For the time being, write to Jagjivandas and inform him that we have not been able to trace the amount. Write to Revashankerbhai and inquire of him what happened to it.

It is a fine thing indeed that you supply milk to Ranchhodbhai's mill.

I have sent a wire to say that I have taken Sakhi Gopal with me. If I find that everything is all right, I will write to Vallabhbhai and ask him to send money for repairs. For the widows, send the amount asked for by him. I am returning Jagannath Rath's letter. Scrutinize the balance-sheet of khadi and keep your comments ready for my perusal when I arrive there. The note should be prepared by an expert.

There is no fear at all of Mahadev's strength being taxed because of his doing routine work. On the contrary, his strength has increased because he was made to do such work. It gives clarity and firmness to one's thoughts. Anyone who merely thinks without putting his ideas into practice will have no real force in what he writes. An instance of this is provided by the article on the Charkha by Tikekar of Indore. If you do not know how, ask me; it is worth knowing.

You were right in writing to Premraj and asking him to go to Jabalpur.

I take it you have written to Mathuradas for his consent before sending Radha.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5416

352. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 11, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter regarding the Lalaji Memorial. Lala Jaswant Rai's contribution will, of course, be used for the Hall. I think I should send to the Society all the money received in this connection. There is nothing more to be written on the matter.

I am at present making a dietetic experiment. Since it started only three days ago I can say nothing about it as yet. But I have met a gentleman who asserts that this experiment is usually very successful. Its secret lies in taking only uncooked food.

I got the letter from Sitaramji. I have replied to it.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6168. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

353. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

May 11, 1929

CHI. GANGADEVI,

I have your letter and that of Totaramji. It is good that Totaramji's eyes are all right. He should see that they are not spoiled again.

Do not leave off sun-baths. I am confident that your pain can be cured—at any rate controlled—by nature-cure, never with drugs. Your diet should be simple and not too much. Keep physical exertion to the minimum.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2546

354. *WHAT COMPRISES FOREIGN GOODS?*

A gentleman asks: "Should we boycott all foreign goods or only some select ones?"

This question has been asked many times and I have answered it many times. And the question does not come from only one person. I face it at many places even during my tour.

In my view, the only thing to be boycotted thoroughly and despite all hardships is foreign cloth, and that can and should be done through khadi alone.

Boycott of all foreign things is neither possible nor proper. The difference between swadeshi and foreign cannot hold for all time, cannot hold even now in regard to all things. Even the swadeshi character of khadi is due to circumstances. Suppose there is a flood in India and only one island remains on which a few persons alone survive and not a single tree stands; at such a time the swadeshi dharma of the marooned would be to wear what clothes are provided and eat what food is sent by generous people across the sea. This of course is an extreme instance.

So it is for us to consider what our swadeshi dharma is. Today many things which we need for our sustenance and which are not imposed upon us come from abroad. As for example, some of the foreign medicines, pens, needles, useful tools, etc., etc.

But those who wear khadi and consider it an honour or are not ashamed to have all other things of foreign make fail to understand the significance of khadi. The significance of khadi is that it is our dharma to use those things which can be or are easily made in our country and on which depends the livelihood of poor people; the boycott of such things and deliberate preference of foreign things is *adharma*.

A person who loves his country and has concern for the poor would pass in review the foreign things he uses and would use indigenous articles in place of those foreign articles which he liked more and had been using so far for his pleasure.

On this tour itself I have observed that people place before me cakes of foreign soap, and never a single one produced in Madras, Mysore, Bombay and Bengal. Those who do this are all khadi-wearers. These days wherever I go for propagating khadi, I ask for a khadi-clad barber. It is with some effort that such a barber is found. Much of his equipment is foreign-made: razor, brush, soap and mirror, and they are arranged in a foreign-made

box. So I pay the barber his wages and explain to him the swadeshi dharma. I can recount many such experiences. At present ink, fountain-pens, etc., are manufactured in our country. The thoughtful should be on the look out for such things and as far as possible use only those articles which are produced in the country. If it is argued that not all the things made in the country are good, that of course is true. But there are difficulties in the observance of dharma as such. What is the value of practising something which offers no trouble? Wise people can help remove the inconveniences if they use swadeshi things of their own will even putting up with hardships. If I use indigenous soap, notice its shortcomings and draw the makers' attention to them, they may perhaps try to remove them. It is only thus that things have improved in quality and design and are still being improved.

At this stage we have to consider one thing more. Do foreign goods mean only British goods or anything made outside India? I know there is a difference of opinion about this. I do not wish to discuss the problem from the point of view of non-violence but to put it before you from the practical point of view. We shall merely exhibit our weakness if we threaten to do something which we cannot do and will never be able to do. It is my belief that we use many British things even against our will. Those who are familiar with the figures of India's imports know that the Government itself imports British goods worth crores of rupees and we use them; e.g., the rails for the track and a lot of other equipment for railways. We use English books of our own will. Another objection from the practical point of view is that, while differentiating between British and other foreign goods, there is a danger of our using British goods under the label of other foreign goods. This has happened in the past and may happen in future. Who can prevent a British manufacturer of fountain-pens from writing on his products 'Made in Australia'? Some traitors among cloth merchants have torn off the British labels on British dhotis and have sold them as swadeshi dhotis. Who can prevent British cloth from coming in *via* Japan as Japanese cloth? We are not going to benefit in the least by importing articles other than British. Then we shall have to make a second attempt to boycott this other foreign cloth and it may be difficult to do so.

Our aim is swaraj, independence. We do not want other people's domination after getting rid of British rule. Considered from all angles and from the practical point of view, we can take but one decision,

Pure khadi is pure swadeshi and one who realizes this will satisfy even his other needs by means of things produced in the country, giving up the use of those superfluous things that are not manufactured here.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-5-1929

355. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

NELLORE,
May 13, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I do hope you got the detailed programme that was sent to you. There is no letter from you today. I hope you have plenty of congenial work at the Vidyapith.

I want your criticism on my article in reply [to] de Ligt's second open letter which has been published in *Young India.*[1] I have made a change in my diet which I do not describe as we shall soon meet. The change has been made purely by way of experiment as I like it and as I have met a man who knows all about it. Of course there is nothing to worry about in this. If it does not agree with me, I shall give it up.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5375. Courtesy: Mirabehn

356. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

NELLORE,
Silence Day, May 13, 1929

SISTERS,

There are only a few days to go before we meet again. It is getting hotter here every day, as it must be there. I don't feel the heat much. Your firmness in keeping up with the prayer classes, the infant-school and the kitchen is, I think, a good gesture. All the three are imperfect, and will remain so for ever. It will be enough if we remain vigilant and keep improving them. Even if we try to keep them going, some improvement will take place

[1] *Vide* pp. 363-5.

automatically. All of you should learn the verses which make up the women's prayers and understand their meaning correctly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3698

357. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

Silence Day, May 13, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Three letters from you of the 6th, the 8th and the 9th have piled up. It is all right if you have changed the time for prayers and meals; you have done nothing wrong in that.

You must have sent an acknowledgment to Lady Ramanathan. Has not the sum been sent to Tiruchengodu? Has it not been acknowledged in *Young India*?

The money which we receive from France is not from a gentleman but from a lady. It is the same Mirbel, who had once stayed in the Ashram for about a month.

Shivabhai must have recovered.

You need not insist on the students memorizing the verses of the *Gita*. They themselves should insist on doing that. All of us, of course, should know how to recite them correctly.

My having given up breakfast is not an act of sacrifice; it was rendered necessary by my travels. I feel helpless at not being able to go for morning and evening walks. When I teach the *Gita*, I don't set aside a special time for it; my enthusiasm shows me the way. When I was there, I used the time allotted to spinning in discussions with inmates of the Ashram. Here I give the first half hour to Prabhavati, and the half hour in the afternoon to the workers. Since, instead of everyone joining in the recitation at the time of the prayer, a different person recited the verses every day, we could correct the pronunciation of the person who was doing his turn. In this way we could effect much improvement. People still commit mistakes, but they are getting fewer. This does not impose the slightest burden on my mind or my time; on the contrary, it gives me more peace of mind. The person who learns in this manner likes doing so. He does not feel that it is a task.

It is only after I arrive there that I think I shall be able to write about the money received from Rangoon.

Do you examine the cash book every day? Do you sign it daily? Do you inspect the vouchers every day? If you do not, start doing it. Follow the rule no matter who is in charge of the work.

Sitla Sahai seems to be busy all right. I was to reach Bombay on the morning of the 23rd; instead I shall reach on the evening of the 22nd. I expect to return to the Ashram before the 28th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5417

358. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

NELLORE,
Silence Day, May 13, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. You should not hesitate to write to me even if you misspell words. You have no reason to be ashamed of your spelling mistakes. If one were to devote plenty of time just for this task it also can be mastered. But it would not be right to devote so much time to it. Do therefore what you can. We value a letter for its ideas, not its grammar.

Do settle the matter relating to Kaku's father[1]. At the same time improve your health too. Maitreyi too will benefit.

I do believe that girls too should have education. We shall talk about this. Our separation will end soon.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 18

[1] Damodar Saraiya, addressee's son-in-law

359. FRAGMENT OF A LETTER[1]

NELLORE,
May 13, 1929

I shall reach Bombay on the 22nd evening according to the revised programme. There is not much difference between this and the original programme.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6782

360. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

May 14, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I write this on Tuesday at 3.30 before prayers. We must set out at 6 and I don't know about the postal arrangements where we are going to camp.

A gist of your article about Unai (regarding khadi activities and drinking) ought to appear in *Young India*. You must have noticed, haven't you, that nowadays there is no co-ordination between *Young India* and *Navajivan*? The reason obviously is that you and I are away from each other and are both busy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11434

[1] The addressee is not known.

361. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 14, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter of 10th. I did receive all your letters but too late to enable me to send any letters to Jeradai. I began the Sadaquat Ashram address on your wire. I hope you have all the letters sent there.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5376. Courtesy: Mirabehn

362. IN ANDHRA DESHA [–V]

The following itinerary will give the reader an idea of the places and the amount collected during the last week.

Total collections already acknowledged in *Young India*, Rs. 1,54,961-15-0½.

East Godavari District:

2-5-1929 — Tuni, Rs. 2,095-10-11.

3-5-1929 — Kirlampudi, Rs. 145-1-9; Kodavali, 7-12-0; Chitrada, 122-0-0; Pithapuram, 1,488-3-6; Cocanada, 4,409-10-6 (Rs. 138-1-0 Lalaji Fund); Peddapur, 1,406-12-7½; Samalkot and Biccavole, 381-14-0; Narsapurampeta, 113-0-0; Pedabrahmadevam, 58-0-0; Medapadu, 406-12-0.

4-5-1929 — Valangi, Rs. 1,772-0-9; Ramachandrapuram, 2,331-6-0; Vella, 216-0-0; Aryavattam, 536-0-0; Draksharam, 321-0-0; Gollapalem and Mutukuwalli, 313-4-9.

5-5-1929 — Chodavaram, Rs. 316-0-0; Mandapeta, 316-0-0; Alamuru, 2,100-0-0; Pulletikurru, 356-8-0; Palivela, 1,117-0-3; Mukkamala, 314-0-0; Ambajipeta, 115-8-3; Gangalakurru, 166-6-9; Pedapudi, 90-14-0; Amalapuram, 5,036-12-9; Bodasakurru, 191-0-0; Nagaram, 163-0-0; Mogalikuduru, 101-3-6.

6-5-1929 — Rajele, Rs. 2,500-3-3; Tatipaka, 1,281-6-9; Mungonda, 116-0-0; Ravulapalem, 175-0-0 (Rs. 25 Lalaji Fund); Ryali, 913-15-6; Utchili, 100-0-0; Vaddiparru, 100-0-0; Peravaram, 148-8-9; West Godavari (subsequent collections), 116-0-0.

7-5-1929 — Dosakayalapalli, Rs. 968-0-0; Rajahmundry, 5,802-10-4 (Rs. 120 Lalaji Fund); estimated value of jewels of East Godavari Dt. 2,500-0-0.

8-5-1929 — Kateru, 308-8-0; Rajahmundry, 116-0-0; Korukonda, 50-0-0; Chodavaram, 184-0-0; Muggulla, 346-5-0; Rahitapuram, 333-7-0; Vedullapalli, 110-0-0; Inugantivaripeta, 500-0-0; Rajampeta, 115-0-0; Katavaram, 13-7-0; Sitanagaram and Kondipudi, 2,116-9-10.

9-5-1929 — Polavaram, Rs. 663-13-9; Singavaram and Vangalapudi, 793-1-9.

Total Rs. 2,01,792-14-3.

Events are so crowded in one upon another that it is difficult to write about them all or to make a selection. I must therefore be satisfied with giving only an outline of some of the most important ones.

UNTOUCHABILITY

This deadly snake of untouchability is scotched but not destroyed. It shows its poisonous fangs even when you may least expect to see them. I was certainly not prepared for the following letter:

> I regret very much to bring to your kind notice, the following fact which occurred soon after the ladies' meeting held at Tanuku on the 22nd instant. At about 5 p.m. there were present three to four hundred ladies in the meeting. It was whispered by some in the meeting that the young lady who was sitting by you was a *Panchama* girl.
>
> As soon as the meeting was over, all the ladies who attended the meeting directly went to the canal and took a plunge in the water to purify themselves from the unpardonable sin of touching her. I saw with my own eyes even small children, nay more, suckling babies too, were sprinkled with holy water to save them also from this sin. We are deceiving you and honouring you. It is a pious ancient fraud with us. . . .
>
> People are steeped in ignorance and superstition. These combined with the pride of higher caste are ruining us and seem to be more powerful even than the present Government.

As it so happens the young lady sitting by me was no other than Shrimati Prabhavati Devi, the daughter of Brijkishore Babu, the well-known leader of Bihar. She has been with me in the Ashram for some time and has been travelling with me during the Andhra tour. By the vast majority of the people she has been taken to be my daughter, by some to be daughter-in-law, but it was reserved for the Tanuku ladies to confound her with Lakshmi, the *Antyaja* girl, whom I have adopted as my daughter in my own manner. And so being polluted by the touch transmitted

through me of the imaginary *Antyaja* girl the good ladies purified themselves and their children by a holy bath or a mere sprinkling. This tragic comedy has a lesson for us. Superstitious themselves, men having neglected the women folk, have allowed the latter to remain in darker superstition. After I got the letter, I became circumspective and began an examination of the composition of subsequent audiences. I found that at most meetings the untouchables were intermingled with the touchables. I asked the audience point-blank whether they had any objection. And they said they had none. At one of the villages near Rajahmundry I saw, at a well-arranged meeting, volunteers pointing with pride to the touchables, untouchables and women in their respective wards. I set a trap for them. "I suppose you have specially arranged in order to isolate the untouchables?" The poor volunteer who answered my question readily fell into the trap and said, "Yes, sir." I discovered afterwards that he knew very little English and had not understood my question. For I straightway asked the audience whether they had any objection to untouchables sitting in their midst. They showed by a chorus of hands that they had none. I was still not satisfied and therefore asked whether they would have me sent the untouchables in their midst. They again raised their hands signifying assent. I asked them to signify the same with their voice. And they did so, at first softly. I asked for a loud-voiced declaration. And all sung out at the top of their voices, "*saray, saray*". Then I invited the untouchables to sit in their midst which they did without any hesitation and without any fear. Then I based my speech to the meeting on untouchability telling them that they had done a meritorious act by letting the untouchable brethren sit in their midst and that it was a sin to regard any human being as an untouchable. If, in spite of this ocular demonstration enforced by the explanation that I gave, the women or anybody had a purificatory bath, it will be a question for a psycho-analyst to dissect and consider. Let me finish this story by adding that the women also had taken part in signifying their assent to the untouchables intermingling, and as a matter of fact the so-called untouchables sat with caste men and women touching both without my noticing any movement on the part of anybody to avoid them. In a village near by, a school is being conducted where both touchable and untouchable boys associate in large numbers without any friction. And so while I deplore occurrences such as happened at Tanuku, the fact cannot be gainsaid that untouchability is fast dying of exhaustion.

A GREAT INSTITUTION

The visit to the little village was preliminary to our entry into the area covered by the activities of the Gautami Sataygraha Ashram founded by Dr. B. Subrahmanyam in 1924. He left his lucrative practice in Rajahmundry for dedicating himself to national service. He saw at once that he could not render that service unless he himself lived in the midst of villagers and put himself in direct contact with them. Hence he established himself in Sitanagaram lying 14 miles from Rajahmundry; for, it was in a cluster of villages surrounding Sitanagram that the people had put up a brave fight with the Government in the heyday of non-co-operation. Many were the village officers who had given up their jobs. For their effrontery they were subjected to a punitive tax of nearly Rs. 5,000.

The Ashram occupies about 10 acres of ground. Khadi is its central activity and corollary activities are: rendering of free medical aid, Hindi *prachar*, library development, publication of a Telugu journal, service of depressed classes and general Congress work. According to the statement lying before me "spinning has been organized in all the surrounding villages within a radius of 5 miles from the Ashram, so as to be within the reach of a single worker to carry on his regular weekly visits from house to house". Six carders are kept permanently at work to produce slivers at the rate of 5 annas per 3 lb. Professional spinners on the register of the Ashram number 193. Carders have up to now earned Rs. 795, the spinners Rs. 2,036. It is estimated that a spinner turns out from 6 to 9 lb of yarn per month enabling her to earn from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2-4-0. The count of the yarn ranges from 8 to 15 counts. The wage to turn out 3 lb of slivers into yarn ranges between 12 annas to 14 annas. 13 weavers belonging to the locality weave this yarn into towels, loin-cloths, dhotis, shirtings, etc. The average monthly earnings of a weaver are Rs. 15. Some very fine special work is also done in the Ashram weavery. The weavers have earned from this work Rs. 8,114. Bleaching and dyeing has absorbed Rs. 1,217. Altogether Rs. 12,164 have been distributed amongst 235 men, women and boys in this *firka*. The Ashram has a branch at Pithapur where 450 wheels and 12 looms are controlled and their survey shows that 800 more wheels are awaiting work if capital can be found. The cloth produced in this centre won a gold medal at the Bangalore Exhibition of 1927 for the best plain cloth. The Ashram has also sale centres. There are 4 hawkers who regularly hawk khadi in the neighbourhood.

The princess amongst the hawkers is the old mother of Dr. Subrahmanyam. She is the most zealous amongst them and with her tireless energy commands the largest custom. Ashram sells khadi at half price to deserving *Panchamas*. The report says:

> A word about general khadi possibilities in the *firka* will not be out of place here. A close survey into its 22 villages will not fail to reveal the fact that the process of cotton industry up till a decade was in its full swing; that cotton was grown in every village and stocked in every house, and that an undertaking of work in the direction of developing home-spinning is necessary and can be carried on with encouraging results. As it is, the worker going on his rounds for spinning will observe that not a few families stock cotton and spin for their own use; in the Sitanagaram village alone, yarn sufficient for 400 yards of cloth was spun by 9 families last year for their own use.

I was taken to several places where self-spinning was being done by families that were doing it for pleasure and not for any economic reason. I saw two widows amongst them whose sole occupation was the spinning-wheel. Dr. Subrahmanyam as he introduced me to one of these young widows could not suppress his tears as he was describing her love of charkha to me.

The Ashram library has been replenished with the gift of the whole of his collection by the late Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya of Cherala Perala fame. It has a reading room attached to it, which is well stocked with journals from all over India.

The Hindi *prachar* work is a special feature. Pandit P. V. Subbarao is at the head of this work. From September 1925 to the end of last year as many as 145 have learnt Hindi, and there is a regular class conducted at the Ashram for those who were willing to learn Hindi. Rs. 1,528 have been spent on this work including Rs. 1,495 as salary of the Pandit.

The work amongst the depressed classes admits development. The Ashram is running a free night school for them. There is also a school where both touchables and untouchables receive instruction. *Bhajan* parties are organized amongst them.

There are 3 free dispensaries under the Ashram and there is a neatly-built indoor hospital to accommodate about 5 patients. Outdoor patients have up to now numbered 62,498, the indoor patients 300.

The *firka* registered 716 Congress members including 9 Mohammedans, one Christian Of these 61 are females, 51 are untouchables.

A Telugu weekly called *Congress* is published at the Ashram, and is now regarded to be practically self-supporting. Its editor Sjt. M. Annapurniah had the honour of being arrested and imprisoned for sedition. The paper however was not allowed to die. His place was taken up by Sjt. K. Ramchandra Rao who was also arrested in his turn. Dr. Subrahmanyam himself stepped into the place and continued to edit the paper till Sjt. Annapurniah was released and resumed editorship. The paper began its career as a foolscap sheet printed on a cyclostyle which has now 14 pages of royal size and takes in selected advertisements, eschewing those for foreign cloth, liquor and British goods. And 'it stands for complete independence as against Dominion Status', so the report before me proudly says. The publication of a Hindi lesson in Telugu character is its regular feature. The Ashram had received up to the end of last year in donations Rs. 32,491 in cash, Rs. 3,747 in grain, Rs. 1,256 as voluntary gifts from patients; and Rs. 4,000 in the shape of timber. It has substantial buildings in which the inmates are accommodated. Rs. 10,535 have been spent on their maintenance. There are 12 members in the Ashram. The allowance is Rs. 20 for a single man, Rs. 30 for a family of two and Rs. 5 for every additional member. This includes clothing allowance. The charges per head of inmates with their families numbering 31 amount to Rs. 7 per month.

This bald statement of facts hardly gives an adequate idea of this great undertaking. Nowhere during this extensive tour have I seen so much life as in this group of villages. Though living their own lives, they have become part of the villagers and have therefore acquired great influence over them. The collections in this group of comparatively poor villages amounted to Rs. 5,000, a collection that beats all record in Andhra. 5 acres of land were donated at the meeting addressed by me, a marked evidence of the popularity of the Ashram amongst the villagers. The Ashram furnishes an object-lesson in village reconstruction. Living in the midst of the villagers they are bound to respond to their wants and aspirations and they are bound to expand their activities in time to the measure of their ability and self-confidence. I observed that Dr. Subrahmanyam goes about his work cautiously. He says: "We live an ordinary *grihastha* life and we have not renounced any private property for the Ashram, though the inmates possess very little of their own. There is no provision in the Ashram for the marriages or other domestic ceremonies. We have not insured the lives of members. We feel that we are quite ordinary national workers." All honour to them for being ordinary workers.

Why should it be considered extraordinary for an educated Indian to live in the villages of India? The extraordinary thing is the education that is foisted upon us makes us unfit for the village life and village work.

POLICE ATTENTION

From the Ashram we were to go to Polavaram,[1] a village about 6 miles from Sitanagaram on the other side of the river. We could therefore only cross by a ferry. Polavaram is situated in an Agency area. Agency means, I learnt, non-regulation. The police here I was told succeeded in frightening the ferry man away from the workers and he refused to carry us. This was an embarrassing situation. To be thus thwarted by the police appeared to me to be humiliating. A crowded programme had preceded the morning of the visit and a crowded programme was in front of me. And instead of having to give one hour if I was to visit the village it meant I had to give four hours and a half; but the time seemed to me to be of no consequence, the going to the village became a duty. The workers could get another launch to take us directly from Sitanagaram to Polavaram instead of our going by car in front of the village and then crossing the river. I accepted the offer. To go to the launch meant also some additional strain and time; but we successfully negotiated the visit. And I was glad that the arrogant purpose of men was frustrated by the Almighty Maker who humbles the pride and arrogance of the proud and the arrogant.

In Polavaram there is a little Ashram conducted by Sjt. P. Kothandaramayya and A. Venkatramayya. They are bringing up some boys of the aborigines amongst whom they are working and it was they who had planned this visit. It is apposite here to mention that throughout the tour we have been followed by a party of police. They have been coming as reporters and what not. As a rule I have not found them to be troublesome. They have even been courteous to me personally at least. Once when the car in which I was travelling had broken down, they gave the use of their car. So much to their credit. But they have also been found ready to show their brief authority and they have not hesitated to encroach upon the party. At Sitanagaram, but for the stubborn resistance of workers they would have occupied the little launch that carried us from Sitanagaram to Polavaram. The reader of course must not therefore think that it was the same

[1] *Vide* pp. 366-7.

police that interfered with the ferry man. I simply mention the fact of the police attention to show that if a man like me who, I presume, is not regarded as a suspect so far as violent intentions are concerned, needs to have his footsteps thus dogged, what must be the fate of those who are under a shadow of suspicion and who are too sensitive to accommodate themselves to the police attention. Throughout my life it has been part of my creed not to avoid the police but to assist them in prying into all my work, for I have always abhorred secrecy and it has made my life and work easy because of my indifference to this kind of surveillance. This indifference and invariable courtesy shown to the police result in the silent conversion of several amongst them. My indifference, however, is one thing and personal to me. As a system the police surveillance cannot but be described as a despicable thing unworthy of a good Government. It is a useless burden upon an already overburdened taxpayer. For, the whole of this extraordinary expenditure, it must be remembered, comes from the pockets of the toiling millions.

Young India, 16-5-1929

363. INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The office of the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa is certainly not a bed of roses. Sir K. V. Reddi, I see from the mail letter received from South Africa, is having his hands full. The greatest cause of anxiety so far as I can see is in connection with trade licences in the area known as the Gold Area in the Transvaal. The largest number of Indian traders in the Transvaal are to be found in this area and these trade licences are a matter of life and death for them. They have built up large business in the hope of being able to have their licences renewed from year to year. Having survived the danger in the Kruger regime of their businesses being summarily closed at any time, they have rightly or wrongly come to believe that their licences will be perpetually renewed so long as they carry on an honest trade. I have certainly thought that the settlement of 1914 covered all these traders and their successors. If these were not vested rights, I do not know what vested rights could be in the Transvaal for them. But now I understand that municipalities are refusing to issue these licences, taking cover under a section of the Gold Law. Legally speaking, perhaps the Gold Law would prohibit Asiatics' trading. But that law was in existence even during the Kruger

regime. It was in existence in 1914 when this settlement was arrived at. Therefore Sir K. V. Reddi should have no difficulty in securing protection for these traders. The agreement which was brought about by the Habibullah deputation contemplates levelling up of the British Indian position in South Africa. Levelling up will be a meaningless term for these traders if the only means of earning their bread and butter is taken away from them. It is necessary therefore for public opinion here to strengthen the hands of the Agent in South Africa and the hands of the Government of India in prosecuting the claim for the protection of these traders. The matter is not free from difficulty I know. There is the general election pending in South Africa. The Union Ministers left to themselves will probably grant the protection that is so desirable. And that should be considered as obligatory if there is to be an honourable fulfilment of the Cape pact. But the electoral conditions in South Africa are not very different from these conditions in other parts of the world. But however difficult the situation may be, these traders must be protected. There is a proper, legitimate, easy way out of the difficulty apart from fresh legislation. Law 3 of 188 of the Transvaal is still in existence. The Gold Law does not supersede that law. Therefore the Gold Law has got to be read in conjunction with the Law 3 of 1885. Now that law enables the Government to declare wards, streets and locations as proper for Indian habitation and trade. It is open therefore to the Union Government by administrative action to declare such areas where Indians are now trading to be proper places for Indian trade and residence.

There are other matters equally delicate but I need not refer to them at this stage as t..e danger in connection with them is not imminent and as it is necessary for public opinion to be crystallized and to concentrate over this single imminent danger.

Young India, 16-5-1929

364. 'ALCOHOLISM OF THOUGHT'

An esteemed European friend approving of my decision in postponing the European visit that was contemplated last year makes among other things the following pregnant observations on the condition to which the European Press is reduced at the present moment:[1]

> You know that the first act of a modern State, when at war, is to ruin her adversary in the opinion of the rest of the world; and for that she stifles its voice, and fills the world with her own. You know that the British Empire is a past master in that art, and that she is preparing by every means to blockade India, to isolate her from other nations, and to inundate those nations with her own propaganda. It has already begun! Last month the events in Bombay were a pretext for giving to the world the impression that India was in a state of fire and bloodshed. . . .
>
> Now, I have too much experience of the frightful intellectual passiveness to which the people of Europe are at present prone. Since the first days of the War of 1914 their unhappy brains have been subjected to such a journalistic intoxication by the whole European Press that they have become incapable of refinding themselves. It is another alcoholism, alcoholism of thought, which causes no less ravages than the other. One can practically say that there no longer exists, in the Occident, a single free newspaper. . . .

Notwithstanding the terrible handicap which this campaign of misrepresentation puts upon us, if we are strong in action, we may afford to disregard them and feel confident that our action, if it is true, will survive the calumny that is being spread in Europe and even in America and make itself felt.

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[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

365. THE WAY TO DO IT

In one of the addresses received by me in Andhra Desha, there occurs this passage:

> We are grieved to admit that we can show nothing to our credit in the way of removal of untouchability, temperance propaganda and Hindi *prachar*. We request your help and guidance in suggesting to us ways and means of securing the necessary capital and selfless workers for the above objects.

This is an admission of helplessness which it would be difficult to understand perhaps in any other part of the world. For I am asked not merely to show how to secure the necessary capital, but also selfless workers. The address comes from those who describe themselves "your most trusted, most humble followers, members of the Town Congress Committee". If I have any followers who are "trusted and humble", I expect them above all to be selfless. Members of Congress Committees are unworthy to sit in a Congress Committee if they are not selfless. Of course I know that at the present moment there is an unseemly rivalry even in Congress Committees for offices. Yet every Congressman would admit that a Congress representative is nothing if he is not selfless. And if the 'salt loses its savour wherewith shall it be salted'? If my followers and these Congress Committee members are not selfless, where shall I find selfless workers for such people? The only way therefore I can show to my questioners about finding selfless workers is, 'be such workers yourselves, and then I promise that the necessary capital will follow'. Shadow invariably follows the Sun. It is men who make money. Money has never been known to make men. It may give us hirelings, but hirelings will never be able to remove untouchability and do temperance propaganda and even real Hindi *prachar*. Hirelings have no doubt a place in the world economy, but they come in after reform, they have never been able to initiate reform. Congressmen have therefore to carry out the triple reform. When untouchability has become a thing of the past, when temperance propaganda has become a popular thing and when everybody wants to learn Hindi, there will be no dearth of men who would give their services on hire and carry out the work that involves no risks.

What unfortunately I notice throughout my wanderings is that many Congressmen do not care so much for constructive work

as for excitement and work that will bring them into prominence without costing them much labour, if any at all. This mentality has to be changed before we can have a steady supply of workers. Everywhere I am surrounded by healthy-looking intelligent volunteers who spare no pains to make me comfortable and who under the impulse of service do not mind working day and night. If they could but be induced to transfer this devotion to a person who really does not need all that volume of service and who is more often than not embarrassed by such attention, to the cause which he represents, the problem is solved. Everywhere I am holding meetings of workers and I have found them to be enough for the work to be done if they will only apply themselves to it. But it is these very workers who compose addresses of the type I have mentioned and who even at these quiet meetings ask me to produce money and men. I therefore suggest to every Congress Committee to become business-like and find out true workers, fix the scale of payment for them and set the constructive machinery going. For this, Congress Sub-Committees need not look for guidance to provincial bodies or to the central body. Provincial bodies may have their provincial service or may not. They may be too heavily encumbered to attempt any such thing. Not so Taluka or Village Congress Committees. They are absolutely autonomous. There is nothing to prevent them from making collections and initiating any reform they choose. Indeed during the interesting tour in Andhra, I have noticed that in some places efficient Committees have been doing work which other Committees have grossly neglected.

Let Congressmen not think of 1930. The first of January 1930 is not going to witness a miracle. It would be an exact resultant of national activities during this year of grace and probation. No sudden change will come over the nation on the first of January 1930. Let individual Congressmen therefore do their little best. It is then possible for them to awaken the nation. Let them not think that one individual can make no impression upon the nation or a cause. After all causes are handled by an aggregate of individuals. Someone has to make the beginning. Let everyone therefore who understands the secret of success in any undertaking do his own duty unmindful of what the others do or do not do.

Let there be no shame about accepting remuneration. A labourer is worthy of his hire. And he is no less selfless because he accepts remuneration. As a matter of fact, a most selfless man has to give his all to the nation—body, mind and soul. And he has still to feed himself. The nation gladly feeds such men and

women and yet regards them as selfless. The difference between a voluntary worker and a hireling lies in the fact that whereas a hireling gives his service to whosoever pays his price, a national voluntary worker gives his service only to the nation for the cause he believes in and he serves it even though he might have to starve.

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366. NOTES

Pandit Sunderlal's Book

The U.P. Government is not satisfied with the outrageous confiscation of the copies of Pandit Sunderlal's book *History of English Rule*, but it is now persecuting everyone suspected of having received a copy before the ban was declared. Whether egged on by the U.P. Government or of its own motion, the C.P. Government has copied the U.P. Government and proclaimed the ban on the book. The question a correspondent now puts is: what are the poor people to do who have got these books? In my opinion it is no part of the possessor of these volumes to surrender them to the police. There is no moral breach in possessing the volume. And those who believe that this confiscation is a wicked act of robbery are not only not bound to assist the process of confiscation but by every legitimate means to thwart the authorities in their nefarious attempt to take possession of the books that have gone out of the publisher's hands. If I were a possessor of such a copy and I did not want to run the risk of a prosecution, I should burn the copy. If I wanted to invite prosecution I would inform the police of possession of a copy and challenge them to arrest me. If I did not wish to invite prosecution, but did not mind it if it came, I should still retain possession leaving the police to their own resources to trace the copy in my possession.

I understand that the C.P. Notification says that even the publication of extracts from the book would be considered a crime. I hope this information is not true. But if it is, it enables newspapers to show tangible sympathy for the author and the publisher as also to defeat the purpose of the Governments concerned by publishing extracts which can be sent by those who are in possession of the volume. The Central Government and local Governments are providing us with opportunities for offering mild civil disobedience which those who believe in it should not hesitate to take advantage of. Terribly debilitating though the at-

mosphere is at the present moment, those who have not yet lost their nerve need not be affected by it, but they should seek every legitimate opportunity of giving hope and courage to the workers by challenging the Government to do its worst.

Abhay Ashram

The readers of *Young India* are not unaware of this important national institution. Its report of activities for the year 1928 has just been received. It is a record of all-round progress. Its khadi department is its largest activity. Here is the record of its progressively increasing sales:

1924 Rs. 21,822	1926 Rs. 1,42,960
1925 Rs. 70,620	1927 Rs. 1,42,820

1928 Rs. 1,88,091

The total wages distributed were Rs. 70,525 as under:

Weavers	Rs. 29,492	Spinners	Rs. 30,453
Tailors	Rs. 7,081	Washermen	Rs. 3,494

The work is done through its 23 khadi centres which support 61 whole-time workers controlled by an annually elected board. The capital invested in this activity is Rs. 1,21,000, of which Rs. 55,000 is a loan from the All-India Spinners' Association. It has to pay to the banks from which it has the balance of the loan a high rate of interest which amounts to Rs. 5,000 per year. It is therefore up to the public to either pay this interest or to give loans free of interest but on the same terms as the banks advance them.

The Ashram is making experiments in dyeing and it claims now to be able "to dye fast colours of uniform shade without the use of any machine." The report proceeds, "Our khaki which has been fast to sunlight, bleaching and perspiration, we specially recommend to our buyers."

The other activity of the Ashram is national education. It controls 31 primary schools of which 17 are in the district of Dacca, 9 in Tippera and 5 in Bankura, serving 1,058 pupils. It has three schools for secondary education, serving 199 students. The total amount spent on education is Rs. 4,702-9-6. It has also a medical department with an outdoor dispensary, a hospital, a medical school and a seva samiti. The dispensary served 3,157 patients, of which 721 were females. The largest number of cases were naturally of malaria. Next comes worms 277 cases and third kalazar. The hospital has 20 beds. 215 patients were admitted during the year under review. The expenses of the dispensary and hospital amounted respectively to Rs. 1,574 and 4,400. The medical school

is training 20 students. The main function of the Sevasadan is house to house collection of rice for the maintenance of poor patients in the hospital. The Ashram is not a believer in untouchability or hereditary caste distinctions. It does a little bit of agriculture and produced 200 maunds of paddy in 18 bighas of lands and it grew vegetables enough to last 6 months for the 50 inmates of the Ashram. It has 6 milch cows and 10 buffaloes. An attempt is being made to have a model dairy farm at Dacca. It has libraries at several of its centres. The Ashram collected Rs. 37,000 for its different activities from the public. Altogether it has received donations of one lakh and a half of rupees during the five years of its existence. Its requirements for the next year are Rs. 50,000 for the khadi department and Rs. 50,000 for the other departments. An institution like this should have no difficulty in obtaining necessary funds from a discerning public.

FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

The following[1] from a precis of information published by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee should stimulate the other municipalities and local boards to action.

COARSE KHADI

The foreign-cloth boycott movement has naturally sent up the khadi sale and production barometers. But if production of khadi is to be limitless the quality of khadi must suffer for a time. By patient effort and instruction, A.I.S.A. has been able to show a progressive rise in the fineness and texture of khadi. But when workers go out to raw spinners and ask them for yarn they may not dictate terms. The raw spinners will not be able all of a sudden to spin fine and even yarn. The public, therefore, if they will help the khadi movement and therethrough the starving millions, should at every new wave and new opening for khadi be satisfied with comparatively coarser stuff during the temporary period. To use coarse khadi is not too great a price to pay for achieving boycott of foreign cloth or for helping India's paupers.

A. I. S. A. MEMBERSHIP

The reader will have seen a notice of the A.I.S.A. in last week's issue of *Young India* announcing that it had decided to discontinue the 'B' class membership. I think that this is a step in the right direction. 'B' class membership was introduced only in order to conciliate some who professed their inability to send

[1] Not reproduced here

1,000 yards per month of hand-spun yarn. Experience however has shown that not over many have taken advantage of 'B' class membership which meant spinning only 2,000 yards per year. And when a limited power of voting for the election of members to the Council was announced, the absurdity of 'B' class membership became patent. 'A' class members repeatedly applied for being classed as 'B' class members in order not to forfeit the right of voting. The Council did not want to go back upon the rules that were framed for voting. So the original list remained undisturbed. But for all future occasions it was decided to have only 'A' class members. And as the policy of the Spinners' Association has been from the very commencement to have those only as members who have the fullest faith in the message of the spinning-wheel, it was considered desirable to have only one class of members with stricter qualification. This would no doubt considerably reduce the members of the Association. But the Council has no hesitation in running the risk. It does not show much faith in the message of the spinning-wheel if members are not willing to devote even half an hour to spinning from day to day.

Apropos of this the Technical Department of the A.I.S.A. has written to the several agencies that the yarn which is sent to them as subscriptions for membership is not uniformly good. It is packed anyhow and it is sent often without considering the cost of posting. The note says:

> In some cases the postal charges exceeded the price of the yarn sent. In one agency alone the postal charges for all the yarn received amounted to Rs. 55, namely, 60 per cent of the price of the total yarn. The suggestion therefore made is that the yarn should be sent from one place in each province and it should be by goods train.

In some cases the yarn sent was so uneven and rough that it was useless. I have repeatedly said that where the yarn is useless, it really should not be accepted as subscription. Yarn subscription means yarn that is weavable just as monetary subscription means money that would be accepted in the market and not counterfeit coins. The subscribing spinners should really know all the details about spinning and packing and this work is essentially one that the agencies should attend to.

Young India, 16-5-1929

367. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

May 16, 1929

CHI. MIRA,

I have one letter of 11th. Of course you write as often as you like and make use of the distance-destroying conveniences. I simply pointed out that we might not disturb our peace when and if they were withdrawn.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I am going away from the Calcutta route now. So I may not write at all now. For we meet at Bombay on 22nd, God willing.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5377. Courtesy: Mirabehn

368. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*May 16, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have to visit such obscure places these days that I do not get the post regularly, and with the slightest change in programme the arrangements get upset. I, therefore, get the mail later than I ordinarily would. But not many days remain now. Today is Thursday. I expect to reach Bombay on Wednesday evening.

So far I have kept good health. I think there is little likelihood now of its becoming bad. Even in this *Dattamandal* the heat is not as great as I had thought it would be. The people of Andhra call the "ceded tracts"[2] *Dattamandal*.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] Gandhiji was to reach Bombay on Wednesday, May 22. The letter was obviously written on the preceding Thursday which was May 16.

[2] Gandhiji uses the English phrase.

[PS.]

Sankaran has arrived here. He says he will come to the Ashram after about three months. I have sent Subbiah to Rajaji. He will probably return by the time I arrive in Bombay.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 107

369. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT

May 16, 1929

BHAISHRI MOHANLAL,

I am sending as much matter for *Young India* as I have got ready. Today Subbiah is not here; so I am sending it as it is. You must get this on Monday. I fail to understand why you do not get on Mondays what should reach you on Mondays, in spite of the great care we take about it.

I went through Mahadev's articles in *Navajivan*. Owing to negligence grammatical errors have gone undetected. *Navajivan* is something to be preserved. Through it we wish to present correct language and correct spelling. The language and spelling should therefore conform to our rules. Our proofs ought to be thoroughly examined even if we have to appoint the experts needed for this. What I say will be clearer if you go through Mahadev's articles. Let Mahadev read this letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

[Encl.]

Prohibition
Andhra Notes
Need of the Hour
Liberate the Woman[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 1175b

[1] The source has these lines in English.

370. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter of the 14th only today. Others will overtake me by and by. I am glad that Ranchhodbhai has come.

I had completely forgotten that Maganlal's death anniversary was approaching. Had I not been writing the diary, I would not remember even the date and the day of the week. I, however, observe Maganlal's death anniversary every day. I am not, therefore, sorry that I did not remember the conventional day. It was the duty of you all to remember it, and you seem to have performed that duty well.

I too believe that it is not wise to encourage the practice of continuous spinning on special occasions. But I also approve of one wheel being kept going continuously on such a day.

It would be better if the sanitary work done on that day was kept up. Our lavatories and urinals are certainly not as clean as they should be.

Mahadev's letter is worthy of him. The despair it contains does not touch me. I have full faith that everyone is doing his best. We have not fallen. We should, of course, be vigilant and, therefore, to a certain degree self-criticism is necessary.

We are now counting the days before we reach Bombay. Today is Friday. Sunday and Monday will be spent in Kurnool. We intend to catch the Fast Passenger at Adoni on Tuesday night. On Wednesday night, we arrive in Bombay.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I send with this a letter from Mirabehn about the spindle for those of you to read who may be interested in the subject. It is worth reading.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5418

371. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

May 18, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter. I think it wrong to try to run the affairs of the Ashram from a distance. But that is what I have had to do all my life. It was so even during Maganlal's time. It is true that as he came to know my nature better, my burden became less and there was less need for him to consult me. But he certainly asked me whenever necessary. After I return this time, however, we shall make some other arrangement if possible. I am certainly not longing to control the Ashram affairs. I tore up your letter after reading it.

If anyone in the Ashram speaks ill of Chhaganlal, we should bear with that. If people speak ill of him, they have praised him too.

All the letters which I received were expressions of love. Do you not think that Chhaganlal should continue to stay in the Ashram as a measure of atonement, if for no other reason? If he cannot do so, that is a different matter. Dharma requires that he should. You do not seem to have understood my meaning when I said that he should become a cipher and remain. A cipher means not a person who does not work but one who is free from egoism. Chhaganlal has always harboured the egoistic sense of being someone. That is why he was tempted by sin. All that I meant was that this egoism should disappear. If Chhaganlal cannot live according to the ideals of the Ashram and cannot be a member of the common kitchen, he may live in the same manner as you will be doing. Even by doing that he will overcome his egoism. But we shall talk more about this. I don't wish to insist on my view in this matter either.

I desire the good of Chhaganlal and Kashi and am ready to do anything which will promote it.

We shall talk about Purushottam when we meet. He must build up his health.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written this in the midst of a crowd of people coming and going.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine—Part I, pp. 53-4

372. LETTER TO K. NARASAM

[*May 18, 1929*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If a separate room does not end the struggle, you should live in separate houses or even villages.

All passion would be burnt by merging oneself in God.

If one would identify oneself with the villagers the wearing of khaddar is a religious duty.

Non-violence is the keystone of life.

Yours sincerely,
M K. GANDHI

SJT. K. NARASAM
TANUKU

From a photostat: G.N. 8809

373. A POSER[1]

A young man who is an employee in a mill writes:

> I am employed in the engineering department of a mill but I am sick of this business. I have over half a dozen relations dependent upon me for support. But not having been trained to any other profession I do not know how else I can eke out the necessary means to provide bread to them all. My monthly requirement comes to one hundred rupees. When I see the injustice that is daily perpetrated on the mill-hands and the utter selfishness and heartlessness of the mill-owners I begin to feel that service in a mill is even worse than Government service. What would you advise me to do in the circumstances? I am 26 years of age and have studied up to matriculation.

As an old English adage says you cannot eat your cake and have it. Similarly you cannot leave off service in a mill and yet have your one hundred *per mensem*. A close scrutiny of all highly remunerative professions in India will reveal the fact that they are almost all of them essentially products of British rule in India,

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 19-5-1929. The translation is by Pyarelal.

and are such as serve in a more or less degree to sustain that rule. A country where the average daily income per head is seven pice cannot afford to pay high salaries, for the simple reason, that it would mean so much additional burden upon the toiling millions of the land who are already well-nigh crushed by their poverty. It follows therefore that the only course for a person, who wants to escape from the system of exploitation which the mills represent, would be drastically to reduce his family budget. This can be done in two ways: by a radical simplification of one's life and by reducing the number of dependants that one has to support. Every grown-up, able-bodied member of a family ought to be made to contribute his or her quota towards the upkeep of the family by honest industry. We have a number of domestic crafts that can be easily learnt and practised at home without the investment of any large capital. If he is not prepared to do any of these two things, he had better stick to the job in which he is engaged and do whatever service he can. Let him, if he is employed in a mill, try to make a close and sympathetic study of the hardships and miseries that are a mill-labourer's lot and do whatever is possible in the circumstances to alleviate them. Let him cultivate an exemplary purity, honesty and uprightness of conduct, and infect his fellow-employees with his ideals. If the subordinate employees are all upright in their conduct, they will thereby create a pure atmosphere which is bound to tell on their masters in the end and enable them to obtain justice from them for the mill-labourers.

All action in this world has some drawback about it. It is man's duty and privilege to reduce it, and while living in the midst of it, to remain untouched by it as much as it is possible for him to do so. To take an extreme instance, there can perhaps be no greater contradiction in terms than a compassionate butcher. And yet it is possible even for a butcher if he has any pity in him. In fact I have actually known butchers with gentleness that one would hardly expect from them. The celebrated episode of Kaushik the butcher in the *Mahabharata* is an instance in point. It is an episode for all young men placed in a similar situation to this correspondent to carefully ponder over and digest.

Young India, 1-8-1929

374. A MISCONCEPTION

A friend from Bombay writes:[1]

I had heard this argument even before. No physician has yet been able to provide a remedy for misconception. Hence I have little hope that my arguments will make those caught in the love of B.A. or LL.B. to give it up. For the benefit of those who may still have doubts, I present one or two facts.

The number of lawyers is negligible. How many out of them serve the country? Of those who do, how many make use of the law examination?

Gokhale was not a lawyer and yet no one has heard of anything lacking in his service. Sir Dinshaw Wacha is not a lawyer; Dadabhai was not one, nor was Hume.

The lawyers who are in the field of public service shine not because they are lawyers, but because of some other capacity in them.

We shall find the names of only a few lawyers among the world's great servants so far.

A country cannot be liberated through the intricacies of law. That will require a sword made of either steel or satyagraha. Rana Pratap, Shivaji, Nelson, Wellington, Kruger and others were not lawyers; Amanullah Khan is not a lawyer; Lenin was not a lawyer. All of them had valour, selflessness, courage and such other qualities by reason of which they were able to serve their country.

It is not my purpose to disparage lawyers or their profession. They have a province of their own. Their contribution to the recent history of India is valuable. My object here is merely to point out that in order to serve it is not necessary to be a lawyer and that in the service rendered by lawyers their legal practice played a minor part.

Moreover, to be a lawyer and to acquire a working knowledge of law are two different things. If he so desires, every worker can acquire such knowledge of law as is necessary. Certificates are a means of earning money, never of rendering service.

Finally, we need workers in thousands. The lawyers are far too few. The field of service is infinite. Service is needed to-

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that a friend of his, studying in the senior B.A. class, though eager to serve the country, intended to take the LL.B. degree before taking up national work, believing that knowledge of law was essential for it. How could this misconception be removed?

day; hence he who longs to serve will not engage himself even for a single moment in becoming a lawyer or taking some other degree. He will easily gain the knowledge which he may need in the course of service.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-5-1929

375. DR. DALAL

Dr. Dalal's death cannot but cause the deepest sorrow to those who had benefited from his surgery. He was more or less unrivalled in surgery. I have only sweet memories of him. Since I first met him in 1918, he had captured my heart by his self-confidence, his sense of humour and his skill. His fee was supposed to be very high. When I once criticized him for it, he asked in reply how, if he did not charge high fees from those who could afford to pay them, he could serve people like me. Many years passed since this criticism was made and I, in the mean while, secured his services for a number of patients. These included men like Deenabandhu Andrews and Acharya Gidwani. He never hesitated to treat them all. Conveying the news of his death, Mahadev writes:

> A week before his death, Dr. Dalal had told Jamnalalji that in accordance with his wishes he would start a sanatorium at Nasik and be in attendance there. He had no more desire for money. He hoped to recover in two months. Gujarat has suffered a big loss in the death of one of its best surgeons.

May God give peace to the family of Dr. Dalal. Their sense of sorrow ought to be lightened by the knowledge that there are many patients and friends who share their grief.

Such deaths should be a warning to us. Knowing that even big doctors and hakims have to pass away suddenly, we common people should be patient and recognize the limits of medicine. Out of false expectations we wander about in search of cures and waste time and money. Knowing that we may be called away any time, we should not put off to some future date whatever good deed or act of service we mean to do, but should do it here and now.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 19-5-1929

376. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

May 19, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters regularly though I find them rather dry. But the grievance that both of you have is justified, since I do not write regularly, whether interestingly or otherwise. But during this touring I cannot keep count of the dates. I think I have not been able to attend to your correspondence during my tours of Burma and Andhra. I shall be more careful now that the pace of my tours will slow down.

I had learnt from Nanabhai that you did not like the name Sita. And you have mentioned the reason in your latest letter. I appreciate your reason. It may be all right for Sushila to have Sita as her ideal but the child should have someone revolutionary. I cannot at the moment recollect any girl mentioned in the classics who would fulfil all these requirements. You should have acquainted me with your sentiments earlier. I shall now think of some other name. In our society as also among the English a person may have two or three names. Let Sita have two or three. In this way I wish to justify the name Sita. Sita is the last word in wifehood as much as it is in maidenhood. Moreover it is my ideal to make a person lead a life of independence and purity in spite of being married. Sita, Parvati and others have fully attained both these ideals. According to the accounts in the *Ramayana* and other works they were free from passion. Sita experienced no difficulty when she was separated from Ramachandra. She was so free from passion that the lascivious Ravana could not touch her. A woman should pray for freedom from passion although her name may be Sita. That is why Sita is one of the seven *satis*.[1] *Sati* does not merely mean one faithful to her husband. *Sati* signifies freedom from passion. Sita had two children. This need not be regarded as wrong on her part, because it is mentioned in this context that Rama and Sita came together out of a desire for progeny. It is not so today. Now children are born as a result of passion; a person like me therefore regards begetting children as forbidden. I am, of course, talking about the belief in

[1] Heroic and chaste women, namely, Ahalya, Draupadi, Sita, Tara (wife of Vali), Mandodari, Kunti and Arundhati

regard to Sita and others; Sita should not be regarded as a historical person but as our ideal woman. We do not worship the historical Rama and Sita. The Rama of history is no more now. But the Rama to whom we attribute perfect divinity, who is God directly perceived, lives to this day. Reciting the name of this Rama would save us; the Rama of history, who is qualified by attributes, good or bad, would not have the strength to save. If you do not follow all this you should, by all means, discuss it with me. In all my reading I have come across no ideal loftier than Sita. This name therefore is extremely dear to me. Again, it is sweet to utter, short, and the two syllables too are easy. It has no compound syllable. And the name is by itself musical, ending as it does with a long *a*. But I do not insist that you call the child by this name. There is nothing wrong if you give a name of your own choice. You may give her a name indicative of the qualities that you wish her to have. Find it in some religious books or novels. On my part I shall certainly search for another.

Well, you have come to know the regrettable episode involving Chhaganlal. It has created a great commotion in the Udyoga Mandir. Now I shall know more about it when I reach there in a few days. Devdas is still there. Nimu has returned to Bardoli. Rami's address at Morvi: Kunvarji Khetshi's House, Tribhuvan Parekh's Sheri, Morvi.

My health is all right. Ba too is fine. Imam Saheb is not wholly all right, but there is nothing special about him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4746

377. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI

May 19, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. You have evinced keen interest in your work. I hope it will last. Chi. Kusum writes to me that you two are coming closer; I wish you will. When those like you who understand things become one in heart, then alone can you render service to the new women who are not trained. I have been suggesting the same thing to Vasumati also. You and Vasumati know each other well. If your association develops you can accomplish a lot. If only a couple of women get on well together,

it might give rise to selfishness. But when all of you get along together, it can strengthen your spirit of service. What I would expect from you therefore is that you should all merge in one another. For this the first step is that those who know one another well should start mixing [with the others].

It is very good that no one was scared in spite of the burglar's visit. Let the burglar repeat his visits. If in spite of all possible precautions on our part thieves come, let them. I think, though, that they do not come to do us bodily harm. They are familiar with the place and may come to mock at us.

Whatever has gone wrong with Dahibehn Patel?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3096

378. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

May 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter of the 12th after it had wandered about a good deal; that is, it reached me after the letter of the 14th. Balkrishna does not know the middle path at all. But he will come round in the end. Those who can may observe his difficult conditions. I shall not write about the subject to anyone just now. We shall discuss the matter after I arrive there.

I tried hard to dissuade Jaykrishna[1] from taking the vow, but he did. How could I prevent him forcibly? We should certainly encourage anyone who attempts to do something good. What does it matter if he fails despite all his efforts?

Are there any signs by which we can recognize a man's fitness? Where could we find a fitter man than Chhaganlal? The history of the Ashram shows that it is the men of recognized fitness who have fallen. We need not be surprised or pained by this. There are limits to the application of the idea of fitness, etc. I have countless instances of persons who could not be recognized as fit but who have proved their worth. We should be as vigilant as we can and try to become better. We can achieve nothing in

[1] Bhansali; the source has Jaykarân, evidently a slip.

this world without taking risks. In the supreme endeavour to attain *moksha* we may accept any risk.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

After I had finished this letter, I saw Mirabehn's. This, too, throws light on the problem of judging a man's fitness. God knows whether that crazy person will utimately prove his worth. How are we to know? What is the extent of our knowledge? Who can see into the future? I think Mirabehn's letter will be useful to you in other ways too. I send it to you.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5419

379. REMARKS ON THE ORPHANAGE ASSOCIATION, NELLORE[1]

May 19, 1929

I hope that these orphans no longer feel that they are orphans.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3230

380. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA BHAVE

[About *May 19, 1929*][2]

I have been unhappy at your going away. Unhappy because I have founded the Ashram for self-realization; service is its outer manifestation, while the observance of vows is the inner one. The basic purpose of the Ashram is the realization of God. I cannot understand why in these circumstances you went away elsewhere to seek God.

[From Hindi]

Bapuna Patro –7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 110

[1] Reproduced in a folder issued by the Association

[2] From a reference to the addressee in "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", 19-5-1929, it would appear that this was written around that time.

381. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

[Before *May 20, 1929*][1]

CHI. KUSUM,

Indeed you were embarrassed. Nevertheless you were asked to do what you pleased. Prabhavati is exhausted and is now sound asleep near me. Throughout the night the din in the train continued. One may say the Mahatma too has sometimes to suffer the congestion in the third class. It is to be seen if Prabhavati can maintain her health.

Whatever happens I shall take you along on my next tour. We shall see how you stand it.

I hope Sulochanabehn is all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1791

382. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

KURNOOL,
Silence Day, May 20, 1929

SISTERS,

I expect this to be the last letter during the present tour. Monday next, instead of writing a letter I myself shall be leaving Bombay to return to the Mandir.

The people of this city have allowed me a quiet time such as I have rarely known in the past. Even outside there are no crowds standing for my *darshan*. So far I have not been able to escape crowds even on Mondays. They have hung up *khas* screens on the two doors so that, despite a hot wind outside, it is very cool within. If, after experiencing all this love and attention, I complain about the hardships of touring, I would be the most ungrateful of men.

How to explain to the women here, who wear six or seven ear-rings, three nose-rings and a ring on each finger and toe, that there is no adornment in this at all?

[1] *Bapuna Patro–3: Kusumbehn Desaine*, p. 28, mentions that this was written while Gandhiji was on the Andhra tour which he completed on May 21, 1929.

We see even some educated women wearing those rings. Whenever I see women with such decorations I think of you all. What trouble have you not escaped?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3699

383. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, May 20, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I got the *Ashram Samachar* too. Some more letters must still be on their way, redirected from place to place.

The question of swadeshi is under discussion at present and, as I am today writing a reply to a student for publication in *Navajivan*, I feel like cautioning the inmates of the Mandir too. We may leave aside the question of what people do in their private affairs; but we must take care to use swadeshi articles whenever we write anything in connection with Mandir work. The string, the tape, etc., used by us should be made of hand-spun yarn. Do you know that Maganlal had made even sewing-thread from hand-spun yarn? The pencils, ink, nibs, etc., which we use should be swadeshi. The ink in my pen is swadeshi. We should thus take care about everything we use. It is necessary that there should be no avoidable inconsistency in our lives. We need not feel ashamed to accept any foreign article which is essential, but its necessity must be demonstrated.

You may now remind me about Lady Ramanathan when I arrive there. I will write something then. I shall write for the next issue of *Young India* in Bombay on Monday, the 27th. I don't know what I will do if I don't reach Bombay before that.

I would not like to dissuade Bhansali from buying land. Though his ideals are different from ours, the direction is the same. They, too, give the first place to self-control. But this is a controversial subject. We shall discuss the matter.

I had thought that after my return I myself would tell the people there about my experiment in eating uncooked grain, and that no one would write about it from here. Yes, it is ten days now since I gave up bread. I am fine. I weighed myself today. The weight today is the same as it was there. If the scale is

accurate, it may even be a little more. That is, it is 95½. I am proceeding with my experiment with great caution. I had started it at the age of 20 and then gave it up. I started it again in 1893 and again gave it up. I enjoy making the same experiment now at the age of 60, for I see big results for myself and my co-workers from the success of my experiment. I cannot say as yet how far the experiment is a success. In 1893 I had carried on the experiment for 15 days before giving it up. I ate uncooked fruit and nuts for many years. This experiment, however, stands in a class by itself. More about it when we meet. No one there should be frightened. I have taken no vow. I will not go on with the experiment at the cost of my health. In any case, I will have my meals in the common kitchen.

Since Chimanlal and others have moved out of the houses on the upper side, those houses will fall into disrepair if not used. I think they may be occupied even by persons without families.

Let Balkrishna carry on with the *Gita* in the manner he thinks best.

Panditji[1] has been roped in all right. It did not occur to me that he would have to shoulder the burden of looking after the cash too. But this is real music. True music is produced only when there is harmony in the different tunes of life. Among those who have given the other music, there have been many immoral men too.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5420

384. *LETTER TO MRS. SOHANLAL SHARMA*[2]

May 21, 1929

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. If the account related to me is true to the letter I see no objection to your marrying the young man who is prepared to give you protection.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 2824

[1] Narayan Moreshwar Khare, the musician

[2] The letter was written obviously before the addressee's marriage.

385. IN ANDHRA DESHA [—VI]

The following is the last but one itinerary I shall be able to give of what has been to me a most instructive and interesting tour:

9-5-1929 — East Godavari District: Korukonda, Rs. 50-0-0; Sitanagaram (subsequent collections), 31-2-3; Raghavapuram (subsequent collections), 64-3-0; Collections on the way, etc., 153-0-0; Vizagapatam District (subsequent collections), 37-0-0; East Krishna (subsequent collections), 20-0-0; West Godavari (subsequent collections), 13-0-0; Guntur District (subsequent collections), 617-11-6.

10-5-1929 — Nellore District: Buchireddipalem, Rs. 4,506-0-5 (Rs. 570 Lalaji Fund); Vangellu, 126-0-0; Annareddipalem, 146-0-0; Pallepalli Isakapalem, 348-0-0; Rebale, 386-0-0; Maktapuram, 75-0-0; Minagallu, 56-0-0; Damaramadugu, 10-0-0; Penuballi, 15-0-0; Kalayakagallu, 250-0-0; Vavveru, 116-0-0; Kotte Vangellu, 116-0-0; Yellayyapalem, 1,246-0-0 (Rs. 116 Lalaji Fund); Rajupalem, 116-0-0; Gandavaram, 300-0-0; Pedaputtedu, 208-0-0; Kovur Co-operative Union Society, 116-0-0; Parlepalli, 296-6-3; Vidvaluru, 400-0-0; Vutukuru, 1,127-14-6; Moporu, 1,136-0-0; Alluru, 1,296-8-0; Kavali and other villages, 1,706-9-8 (Re. 1 Lalaji Fund).

11-5-1929 — Ulavapadu, Rs. 558-0-0; Kandukuru, 1,343-2-3; Botalaguduru and Pamuru, 717-0-6; Sitarampuram, 15-12-0; Yelamarru, 1-0-0

12-5-1929 — Peramana, Rs. 116-0-0; Sangam, 776-0-0; Pallepadu, 731-14-9; (Rs. 5 Lalaji Fund); Gangapatnam, 640-0-1; Mypadu, 752-3-9.

12-5-1929 — Venkanapalem, Rs. 30-0-0; Koduru, 50-0-0; Koruturu, 47-0-0; Indukurupeta, 176-2-0; Kottavuru Y.M.C.A., 5-0-0; Nellore, 5,178-12-6 (Rs. 20 Lalaji Fund); Pottepalem, 1,016-0-0; Potlapudi, 70-0-0; Guduru, 734-0-0; Tumburu, 50-0-0.

14-5-1929 — Nayudupeta, Rs. 655-6-8; Attavaram, 116-0-0; Nidumusili, 50-0-0; Chittoor District: Kalahasti, 1,116-0-0; Bell Metal Co., 316-0-0.

15-5-1929 — Tirupati, Rs. 1099-7-0; Renigunta, 67-0-0; Unaccounted, 60-0-0; Papanayanipeta, 12-0-1; Puttur, 806-0-0; Tiruttani, 115-12-0; Chittoor, 511-0-0; Palmaneru, 138-12-0; Punganuru, 536-15-11.

16-5-1929 — Madanapalli, Rs. 2,475-14-0; Anantapur District: Nagireddipalli, 116-0-0; Kadiri, 1,300-8-11; Kutagulla, 116-0-0; Mudigubba, 116-0-0; Dampetla, 116-0-0; Dharmavaram, 1,148-8-0; Anantapur, 1,247-4-0; Tadipatri, 1,160-5-3.

Total up to date Rs. 2,43,283-3-6.

The tour has been no doubt exacting, the heat equally so. Nevertheless it has been for me a matter of great joy to find the villagers responding in a most wonderful manner. The rigour of the tour has been softened by the willing and unremitting attention of the volunteers, chief among whom has been Subbaramiah who gave up Government service and has ever since remained in Congress service. But the one man who has been most responsible for my well-being is Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya. He has been taken to task for bringing me to Andhra at this time of the year and then making a heavy programme. He is not wholly responsible for either. The programme had to cover the whole of Andhra Desha. He could not within the time allotted to him devise a less heavy programme. The Andhra leaders did not want me to go in February. And I was bound to give March to Burma. It was therefore April and May for Andhra or postponement of the tour this year. Postponements there have been many. Any further postponement was impossible. But no man could have made the tour less exacting than Deshabhakta. He has worn himself out in trying to keep times, avoid noises and secure comfortable lodgings. He is one of the gentlest of men it has been my privilege to be associated with. But he assumed during the tour a severe and decisive tone, so unnatural for him, that the co-workers beside him treated his severity as a huge joke, and his assumed rage over things going wrong, as they will do sometimes under all climes and in spite of the best of management, has broken for me the monotony of continuous motoring often along wretched roads. I would repeat tours like this a hundred times under the supervision of a superintendent like Deshabhakta and amid a people like the Andhras.

Universal Provider

Whilst writing of Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya I may not omit Deshoddharaka Nageshvarrao. I have always chaffed him about making money out of a patent ointment with a sweet name. And he has always smilingly retorted, 'Yes, it is bad, what can I do? I try to serve my country with the money I get from it. And it is an inoffensive ointment.' I have attended to the explanation with the same indifference with which I have joked about the patent ointment. I was therefore not prepared for the agreeable discovery I have made during the tour that his depot has enabled him to become the universal provider for the many public activities of Andhra. Never has a deserving beggar been turned away from his hospitable door. Wherever I have gone the addresses

have made mention of his charities. If it is the Anand Ashram for the untouchables Nageshvarrao builds the substantial block of buildings for it; if it is a school that has needed assistance Nageshvarrao has been the helper; if it is Dr. Subrahmanian who wants a printery for his Ashram, it is again Nageshvarrao who comes to the rescue. He is never so happy as when he is giving. And so far as I have been able to understand, his left hand knoweth not what his right giveth. I do not wonder that a public worker remarked during the tour, in answer to my joke about the 'patent loot', "I wish he would be able to loot much more than he does. It will then all be used to help public activities." I have been secretly criticizing the Andhra lavishness of titles on national workers. But this Deshoddharaka has reconciled me to the title he had deservedly earned. But I must pass on.

A Remarkable Address

I must leave several important matters for the next issue. I propose to close these hurried notes, written against post time, with the mention of a remarkable address received at Ullavapadu in Nellore district. It was in Telugu and Hindi, both written on ordinary thick paper with an ornamental border by a local artist such as could be produced in a little village. The language of the Hindi address was what I should call standard Hindi without any attempt at Sanskritizing or Persianizing it. It was written in the language one hears spoken in the U.P. by those who have not developed anti-Hindi or anti-Muslim prejudices. The opening paragraph has mere courteous reference to my visit but contains no rhetoric or flowery adjectives. Here is a translation of the body of the address:[1]

> In accordance with your instructions in *Young India* we beg to lay before you as fully as we can the information asked for by you, in the hope that after perusing it you will vouchsafe to us such guidance as may be warranted by the peculiar circumstances of our village. . . .
>
> . . . The greatest hardship that the people here have to suffer is from scarcity of drinking water. This village has got a temple of Vishnu as also a dharmshala. At the latter free meals are given to sadhus and Brahmins.
>
> There are 897 members of the 'depressed classes' in this village. They dwell outside the village in a special location and are divided into two sections. Those two sections, while not observing untouchability as among themselves, do not inter-dine. Nor will one section allow the

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

other the use of its wells. . . . They eat carrion even when animals have died of infectious diseases with the result that leprosy is very prevalent among them, particularly in the Malang caste. They are also very much addicted to the liquor habit. . . . There is no Congress Committee in this village.

There is no branch of the A.I.S.A. here. There are 52 spinning-wheels in this village of which 22 are working. They are worked mostly in spare time. The monthly aggregate outturn of yarn from these wheels is 10 seers. The average monthly earnings per head come to Rs. 2. The count of yarn spun is from 20 to 25.

There are 65 looms in this village. Twenty-six of these are ordinary pit looms. 12 of these use both mill yarn and hand-spun yarn, 14 use mill yarn only. The rest are fly-shuttle looms. None of these use hand-spun yarn.

. . . There is in this village a library and reading-room. It was established by the youth of this village. It contains 1,230 books and issues on an average 3 books every day. It receives Hindi as also Telugu journals. For the last two years Government aid to this library has been stopped as the organizers could not conform to certain restrictions sought to be imposed upon them by the authorities.

If the village was an advanced Congress village, it could not have presented a more exhaustive study of its life. The surprise is that this village has no Congress Committee, no worker of the A.I. S.A. The visit to this village was early in the morning. Through no fault of the villagers I had no advance copy. And not knowing the rich contents of the address, I was unable to give the guidance the framer had asked for. But I may give it now.

(1) The village elders should hasten to form a Congress Committee and make it a point of having on their roll every adult villager whether male or female.

(2) They should befriend the so-called untouchables, wean them from carrion and drink and draw them closer to them. To this end they should invite district leaders to visit their quarters.

(3) The village elders should meet together and enlist the help of some philanthropic engineer of the district and devise a scheme for a better supply of water.

(4) They should systematically introduce hand-spinning in every home and aim at producing at least all their khadi.

(5) They should deem the disaffiliation of their library as a blessing in disguise and make it thoroughly national in character and a centre for spreading adult education.

Young India, 23-5-1929

386. PROHIBITION CAMPAIGN

The Working Committee having entrusted Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari with the work of organizing the prohibition campaign, he has circulated among the Provincial Congress Committees the programme of work sanctioned by the Working Committee. It is as follows:[1]

It is to be hoped that the Provincial Committees will respond quickly and effectively. The success of all the three campaigns, viz., prohibition, untouchability and foreign cloth, about which the Working Committee has brought special machinery into being, must naturally depend upon the quick and effective response of the Congress organization. It is in anything but satisfactory condition at the present moment. It should be the duty of the forthcoming A.I.C.C. meeting to investigate the causes of the breakdown of the organization and the remedies for its effective and efficient reorganization.

Young India, 23-5-1929

387. THE NEED OF THE HOUR

The Nellore District Congress Committee presented me during my tour in that district with the following illuminating statement[2] about its conditions:

What is true of Nellore is, I am sorry to have to say, true of most Committees with which I have come in touch. I share the opinion expressed by the Nellore Committee that the entry of Congressmen into the so-called elective bodies has disorganized and demoralized the Congress. It is difficult however to discover the remedy for the evil unless Congressmen can be persuaded to revert to the boycott of 1921. There seems to be no room for dyarchy in the Congress as elsewhere. Somehow or other constructive work and Councils do not seem to go together. Those who are in the Councils and local boards have little taste or aptitude for constructive work, and those who are doing the latter have little or no taste for the elective bodies. Both however profess faith in the constructive programme if their votes and their speeches are proof of that

[1] For the text of the circular, *vide* Appendix II.

[2] Not reproduced here

faith. A device therefore should be possible whereby the Congress machinery may be worked at full speed and efficiently. The A.I.C.C. should really tackle that problem to the exclusion of everything else if such exclusion becomes necessary. I hear a great deal about the treasure chests of local committees being empty. Those who speak thus do not realize that the constitution has provided automatic machinery for Congress finance. If it becomes really a people's institution, it need never be in want. Nellore district alone had ten thousand members in 1921. No Provincial Committee should have fewer than thirty thousand members. That means a steady annual income of Rs. 7,500 enough for smoothly running a provincial organization. And an organization that commands such membership should always be able to raise contributions for special purposes. An honestly worked Congress organization should surely have on its roll more than six millions which in round figures is the total strength of the electoral roll for elections to the legislatures. The need of the hour therefore is a complete reorganization and stabilization of the Congress. Would that the forthcoming meeting of the A.I.C.C. will realize its obvious duty.

Young India, 23-5-1929

388. LIBERATE THE WOMAN

Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, the well-known social worker of Madras, has written a long letter based on one of my Andhra speeches from which I take the following interesting extract:[1]

> Your observations on the urgent need for reforms and for a healthy change in the daily habits of our people, during your journey from Bezwada to Guntur, have appealed to me very much indeed.
>
> I may humbly submit that I as a medical woman fully concur with you. But will you kindly permit me to say that if education is really going to bring in its train social reforms, better sanitation, and improved public health, it is going to achieve this result only through the education of our women?
>
> Under the present social system, don't you think that very few women are given sufficient opportunities for education, full development of body and mind, and self-expression?
>
> If the members of the Congress believe that freedom is the birthright of every nation and individual, and if they are determined to achieve that at any cost, should they not first liberate their women from the

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

evil customs and conventions that restrict their all-round healthy growth, which remedy lies in their own hands?

Our poets, saints and sages have sung in the same tune. Swami Vivekananda has said, 'That country and that nation, which do not respect women, have never become great, nor will ever be in future. The principal reason why your race is so much degraded is that you had no respect for these living images of *Shakti*. If you do not raise the women who are the living embodiments of the Divine Mother, don't think that you have any other way to rise.'

The late Subrahmanya Bharati, the gifted Tamil poet, has echoed the same idea.

So, would you kindly in your tour advise our men to follow the right and the surest way to attain freedom?

Dr. Muthulakshmi has a perfect right to expect Congressmen to shoulder this responsibility. Many Congressmen are doing great work in this direction individually as also corporately. The root of the evil however lies far deeper than would appear on superficial observation. It is not the education merely of women that is at fault. It is the whole of our educational system that is rotten. Again it is not this custom or that which needs condemnation, it is the inertia which refuses to move even in the face of an admitted evil that needs to be removed. And lastly the condemnation is true only of the middle class, the town-dwellers, i.e., barely 15 per cent of the vast millions of India. The masses living in the villages have no child-marriage, no prohibition against widow-remarriage. It is true that they have other evils which impede their growth. Inertia is common to both. What is however necessary is to overhaul the educational system and to devise one in terms of the masses. No system will be even passable that does not lay stress on adult education equally with that of children. Moreover no system will touch even the fringe of the question that does not give the vernaculars their natural place of supremacy. This work can only be done through the existing educated class such as it is. Before therefore reform on a large scale takes place, the mentality of the educated class has to undergo transformation. And may I suggest to Dr. Muthulakshmi that the few educated women we have in India will have to descend from their Western heights and come down to India's plains. Men are undoubtedly to blame for their neglect, nay, their ill use of women, and they have to do adequate penance, but those women who have shed superstition and have become conscious of the wrong have to do the constructive work of reform. This question of liberation of women, liberation of India, removal

of untouchability, amelioration of the economic condition of the masses and the like resolve themselves into penetration into the villages, reconstruction or rather reformation of the village life.

Young India, 23-5-1929

389. TELEGRAM TO SITLA SAHAI

BOMBAY,
May 23, 1929

SITLA SAHAI
ASHRAM
SABARMATI

JAWAHARLAL AND I AGREE YOU SHOULD REPUDIATE LIABILITY SAYING YOU ARE LEGALLY ADVISED YOU ARE NOT LIABLE AND IF LIABLE YOU HAVE NO PROPERTY.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15394

390. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

May 24, 1929

Had a time not come when the boycott would be made more effective by devising a definite plan of vigorous action?

Mahatmaji said everything that was possible was being done by the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee and all that he could suggest at the present moment was that the people who believed in this movement and wanted to assist it should strengthen the hands of the Committee by carrying out its instructions from time to time.

Our representative suggested the formation of special boycott committees in which the Congress workers and also the mill-owners could work together on the basis of co-operation.

He did not think he could carry things further at the present stage.

Would the boycott not be materially advanced if the F.C.B. Committee were to co-operate with other agencies which were also working for the boycott in their own ways?

Replying to this question Mahatmaji gave an assurance on behalf of the F.C.B. Committee that whatever assistance could be secured from other sources was being applied for and would be applied for in future.

Would a pledge embodying a solemn vow that the signatory would use swadeshi articles alone in any way accelerate the progress of the boycott movement?

He did not think, he said, that any pledge was necessary for popularizing the boycott movement. He added that the question of pledge was considered by the F.C.B. Committee. It was not pledge, he said, that was wanted but actual and immediate actions.

Asked whether bonfires should be restarted on a larger scale and in an organized manner, Mahatmaji replied that it was much better for the time being to carry on this propaganda in the way it was being carried on by the F.C.B. Committee.

Since our eyes are fixed on the coming battle that we are to begin in January next and since the problem of creating effective sanctions behind our national demand is staring us in the face, is it a wise policy that our energies should be frittered away over minor issues such as the acceptance of offices by Congressmen?

Mahatmaji's prompt reply to this question was his usual diplomatic laughter followed by a still more diplomatic remark that it was a question which he was incompetent to answer.

Was it not a fact that he was acting as a mediator to bring about a reconciliation between the divergent views that had made themselves manifest within the Congress camp? A loud laughter again came as a reply.

You have had enough. You are now trying to pump out something from me which I am not prepared to give.

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-5-1929

391. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

May 25, 1929

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. It may not be wrong to go hawking khadi among the Gondal subjects. I have however just spoken in favour of emphasizing the production of khadi. If all take to sacrificial spinning khadi can be produced without difficulty. Our present need is to improve the quality of our yarn. In Kathiawar it would be produced in bulk only through sacrificial spinning, provided of course you could create the atmosphere. About the prize-winning wheel we shall decide when I reach the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5696

392. SPEECH AND RESOLUTION AT A.I.C.C. MEETING

BOMBAY,
May 25, 1929

In view of the campaign of repression which the British Government is carrying on all over the country, as evidenced by the conviction of Sjt. Sambamoorthi, member of the Working Committee, and many other national workers, the wholesale arrests and barbarous treatment of the members of the All-India Congress Committee and the labour leaders and workers now awaiting trial at Meerut, the unwarranted house-searches and wanton confiscation of Pandit Sunderlal's *History of British Rule*, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the nation should be prepared for efficient resistance to such methods; and as it is clear that no nation-wide resistance is possible unless the whole Congress organization is reconstructed on a satisfactory basis, this Committee, therefore, calls upon the provincial organizations to reorganize their respective provinces so as to fulfil the following requirements:

> The Provincial Congress organization shall have not less than ¼ per cent of the total population of their province as original members, and not less than 50 per cent of the districts represented by it.
>
> The district organization shall have not less than one per cent[1] of its population as original members and not less than 50 per cent of tahsils represented by it.
>
> The tahsil organization shall have not less than ½ per cent of its population as original members, and not less than 10 per cent of the villages within the tahsil represented by it.
>
> The village organization shall have not less than 3 per cent[2] of its population as original members.
>
> For the Provinces of Bombay and Delhi, the original members shall not be less than 3 per cent of their respective populations.[3]

[1] This was amended to read: "1/4 per cent".

[2] Amended to read: "one per cent"

[3] Amended to read: "For the Province of Bombay the original members shall not be less than 1½ per cent of its population."

For the Province of Burma[1] the Working Committee shall issue such instructions as may appear to it reasonable after consultation with the workers in that Province[2].

No provincial organization will be recognized by the Committee that does not satisfy the foregoing test within[3] 31st August next.

It will be open to the Working Committee to disaffiliate any[4] organization that does not carry out the instructions issued from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee.

In moving the resolution, Gandhiji spoke in Hindi and then in English. He said it was a summary procedure which he was adopting when he asked the Committee to adopt the resolution without having circulated copies, and without giving time to consider. But the situation demanded the summary procedure. He would ask the Committee to eschew from its mind the preamble, because the preamble claimed to be exhaustive. The principal part was the operative part. The Congress had appointed three Committees to organize boycott of foreign cloth, khaddar production and prohibition. The resolution before the Committee now related to the internal organization of the Congress. If the Congress were to be an irresistible force whose authority would be respected, it must be a strong organization with complete co-ordination between its component parts. There was no such co-ordination at present.

The proposal might seem to be radical, but the emergent situation demanded radical remedies. In fact originally the Working Committee had agreed to a more radical proposition, namely, that Provincial Committees should be abolished and that the District Committees should establish direct relations with the Central Committee. But when the necessary changes had to be made in the constitution difficulties were experienced. Pandit Jawaharlal was also of opinion that the Committee might regret it, but he had no misgivings. The resolution put forward radical proposals. The Committee should take the responsibility of the Congress if in its opinion the situation in the country demanded it. If the resolution was carried into effect, it would not then be feasible for the Viceroy to insult the country by extending the legislature or to insult the President of the Assembly.[5]

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-5-1929

[1] Amended to read: "For the Frontier Province and the Province of Burma"

[2] Amended to read: "Provinces". The following sentence was added: "Populations of Indian States and of Agencies analogous to Non-Regulation tracts may be excluded from the computation of members."

[3] Amended to read: "by"

[4] Amended to read: "an"

[5] The resolution was seconded by Srinivasa Iyengar and later passed with amendments.

393. "GORAKSHAKALPATARU"

Shri Rameshwardas has sent me Rs. 25 in memory of the death of his uncle's daughter with a desire that the above book may be sent to suitable places with the addressees being asked to bear the postage. The book will be sent, as far as the money lasts, to those managers of goshalas or others who serve the cow in some other way if they send a stamp of Re. 0-1-3 together with their names and addresses. Correspondence in this matter should be addressed to the Secretary, Goseva Sangh, Udyoga Mandir, Sabarmati.

I give below the gist of what Shri Rameshwardas writes in Hindi in the same letter since it deserves to be pondered over:

> There is also this reason why I make the above donation. Nowadays we make *go-dan*[1] in honour of the dead. But I believe the cow is not at all served thereby. There are no pastures nowadays; hence Brahmins are not able to maintain cows to the last and in the end they are delivered into the hands of the butcher. Therefore today true *go-dan* consists in promoting service of the cow. One way of doing so is to distribute widely books like *Gorakshakalpataru*. I do hope that Hindu society will understand this, and will order this book, read it, think over it and take the measures proposed in it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-5-1929

394. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

May 26, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got three letters from you at Bombay. I am reaching Sabarmati two days earlier.

I got all the details of your career which I wanted to have.

One remedy for your temper is that you should live with me for some time. It is also my wish. During July and August I shall be at the Ashram. Now I shall be here till the 10th of June.

Almonds would certainly not be the cause of the cough attack you got. It might be the butter. It is all right if you gave it up.

[1] Gift of a cow

It does not matter if you soak the almonds. Peel them and grind them into a paste.

Do you have an oven for making bread? It is not convenient to prepare a small quantity. I wish you would not bother about making any and would rather take fruit, etc.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6784

395. LETTER TO D.

May 27, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am extremely dissatisfied with your letters. You are hysterical, easily excited, unstable and revengeful. You should cease to think about the girl. It would be improper for you to advertise the connection to the world. It must be enough for you to plead your suit before the girl's father. After all, you should recognize your own limitations. Would a father willingly give his daughter to a cripple? The girl has a perfect right to choose you as her partner if she wishes. But a girl who does so must be far above the average, and if this girl is, she will overcome her fears and all other difficulties. She is in no need of your protection. It is you who stand in need of protection from her. You are forgetting your limitations and denying your philosophy.

From the original: C.W. 6169. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

396. LETTER TO V. G. DESAI

May 28, 1929

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I have your postcard.

When I wrote I had you in mind. Let me state what I expect from you if your health permits:

(1) visiting every goshala and its management in India and carrying our message to them;

(2) a general idea about dairies and tanneries to carry out this work;

(3) a rough account in Gujarati of the dairies, etc., in Denmark and other countries which are models in this respect;

(4) an article of practical value on this subject every week in *Navajivan* and *Young India*;

(5) visiting slaughter-houses and giving harrowing descriptions of them.

This is all I can think of at the moment.

On reaching there I shall give further thought to the question of accepting the yarn spun by me in lieu of subscription.

You may write in *Navajivan* about the sale of our milk.

We may take up the responsibility of managing the Virchhiya Pinjrapole if we have someone who can take care of it and if we are allowed complete freedom.

I am surprised to learn about the jacket for *Jodanikosh*.

Now on I shall write in *Navajivan* about Rameshwardas's money.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7401. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

397. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

May 28, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have both your letters. I too have received many letters from D. . . . I have written to him today and I enclose a copy for you. I am sorry I gave you so much trouble about such a man. My acquaintance with him was slight. I had met him only once or twice. He seemed to be a good man. He still does. But you cannot employ such people. Or possibly I am doing you an injustice in believing this. You have an altruistic instinct but it is probably too big a responsibility to collect such people around you. He now fears that he may not be able to stay on there and has written that he may be called to the Ashram. Tell me what I should do.

My article was in no way connected with what appeared in *Forward*. I am quite sure that the punishment meted out to *Forward* is cruel and inhuman. I have no doubt that *Forward* has shown courage.

The raw cereals experiment is continuing. I shall leave Sabarmati on June 11.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6169. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

393. *FROM AND ABOUT SAROJINI DEVI*

The latest letter from India's non-official ambassador in the West reads:[1]

> I have had since I last wrote to you one month of strenuous and continual travelling across many thousand miles of country from Chicago to Los Angeles and back through the wheat, copper, oil, cattle and cotton countries, a vast area that bears testimony to the triumph of man over Nature, of his courage, enterprise, endurance, resource, industry and vision that could coax or compel such rich results in such a short period. And yet, all the power of man becomes no more than a feather or a ball of thistle puff in the presence of Nature in the Grand Canyon of the Arizona Desert where time itself has sculptured magnificent temples to the unknown God out of rocks that are dyed in all the colours of jewels and flowers. Song itself is transmuted into silence and silence is translated into worship in the midst of such awe-inspiring beauty and splendour.
>
> The Arizona Desert is the home of many Red Indian tribes, who live their own picturesque and primitive lives, so strangely aloof and alone in the land that was once their ancestral heritage. They are more akin to us than to the foreign Western peoples who have taken away that heritage. There is a freemasonry that binds all primitive world races in a common bond, for the folk spirit, whether in India, Roumania, Zululand or the Arizona Desert, expresses itself very much in the same symbols and reveals very much the same primal virtues through the folk music, folklore and folk dance. Valour, I think, is one of the primal key-virtues and nowhere does it find more stirring expression than in the dances I saw of the Hopi tribe on the edge of the Grand Canyon, the Eagle Dance, the Dance of the Buffalo Hunt and the Victory Dance. You will be very much interested in what a proud young representative of an Indian tribe said to me at the conclusion of an address I gave in San Francisco. He was obviously well educated and may have been a graduate of one of the Universities. 'Thank you for your inspiring talk about your country. This country once belonged to me and my people. We are dying out, but *they may kill us, they can never conquer us*.' Yes, these desert children are children of the Eagle and the Wind and Thunder. Who can conquer their spirit? I felt the truth of the proud boast when I went to Arizona.
>
> California I loved, every flowering rood and foam-kissed acre of that lovely land. But one sorrow made a cloud for me in that horizon of

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

dazzling sunshine — the unhappy plight of the Indian settlers who after twenty or thirty years of prosperous labours on their own farm lands have by the recent immigration laws been deprived of all right to land and citizenship. . . .

I have come to the conclusion after my visits to Africa and America that the status of Indian settlers can never be satisfactory anywhere till the status of India is definitely assured among the free nations of the world.

You are aware of my inveterate habit of studying the human document in all its phases and there is no record, plain or cryptic, that does not interest me and which I do not try to interpret and understand. In the course of my travel, I sample not only every kind of climate and scenery but also every type of humanity. . . .

This week I received belated reports of all events and incidents, I was almost going to say accidents, of the great National Week in Calcutta. Pâdmajâ's little word pictures were more vivid and illuminating than all the journalistic descriptions. She writes, 'The little Wizard has lost none of his ancient magic.' But the supreme, the final, magic still âwaits expression ând fulfilment in a true and fruitful formula for Hindu-Muslim friendship and unity of vision and action which alone can redeem India from her intricate sevenfold bondage.

Hearken to the entreaty of a Wandering Singer, O little Wizard. Find the formula, work the magic and help to ensure the realization of the wondrous dream of a liberated India. Good bye.

This letter is dated at Kansas city, 11th February, and would have been before the reader earlier but for my Andhra tour. I have removed from previous letters all personal references. But I dare not remove the reference in this letter. It demonstrates Sarojinidevi's passion for Hindu-Muslim union. How I wish I could realize her hope. But the wizard has lost his wand. He feels helpless though his passion for heart union is no less than hers and though his faith in the midst of 'the encircling gloom' is brighter than ever. It seems however that Satan's spell is not yet broken and mad fury must for a while take its own course before exhaustion overtakes it and it is self-destroyed.

Turning however from this self-musing, and returning to the songstress, it gives me joy to quote the following from Dinabandhu Andrews's letter:[1]

Sarojini Naidu's visit has been amazing. She has won all hearts, and I have been hearing nothing but praise about her visit everywhere I have gone, both in Canadâ and in the United States. . . . She must

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

certainly come back again and again. For she has won the heart of the West, and they will never forget her. Friendship such as she has won must never be lost. Those who know Quebec best tell me that the next time she comes she will have a much warmer reception (if that were possible!) even than that which was given her on her present visit. For she will start with a strong group of earnest friends eager to help her in every part of the country.

Young India, 30-5-1929

399. APATHY OF MERCHANTS

Here is an extract from an argued address received during the Andhra tour. Speaking of khadi it says:

> If we had been able to enlist the unstinted support of the merchant community, we would have been able to put the constructive programme about khadi in full swing and set an example for the rest of our district to follow. But sad to say it was otherwise. A spirit of apathy has permeated the major portion of this district.

The remark made in the address is unfortunately true of almost every place in India. Indeed when the mercantile community is converted to the national cause, we shall not be long attaining our goal. As I have so often remarked it is the merchants who lost India to a foreign Government and it is they who can regain it. They are after all the largest co-operators with the Government. And amongst these, piecegoods merchants take the foremost place. It is really therefore a matter for every village Congress Committee to tackle this problem. If these committees would enlist the co-operation of these merchants, they must reason with them, show to them the folly of trading in foreign cloth. I have no doubt that in many places success would attend such effort. The work has to be of a twofold character, to persuade the foreign-cloth trader as also the customer. What I however find is absence of originality amongst Congress workers. They are satisfied with enrolling a few members and going to sleep. Even in canvassing original members, they, as a rule, go to those who can read and write or those who belong to the same caste or class, instead of taking the Congress message to every grown-up man and woman. For instance, I have now made it a rule instead of doing my own shave to send for a khadi-clad barber. It has meant peaceful propaganda. Congressmen stare at me and are at their wit's end to know where to find a khadi-clad barber. They do not even

realize that to procure a khadi-clad barber is the easiest thing in the world especially in villages. He would willingly wear khadi, if it is supplied to him cheap or even gratis. He requires nothing but a small dhoti. Happily he had never worn trousers, jackets, long turbans, etc. His usual costume is a small dhoti. And if Congressmen were to insist upon having a khadi-clad barber for service, barbers will immediately realize that a class of customers has come into being which requires them to wear khadi and they will not make any ado about wearing it. Add to this a little bit of fellow-feeling and therefore a lesson to the barber on what khadi means, and you have a convert to khadi.

Among my audience in Andhra villages it is difficult to distinguish between khadi-clad men and men wearing foreign cloth, for the simple reason that both wear coarse cloth and when their simple dhotis have seen a fair amount of wear and tear, from a distance khadi is indistinguishable from foreign cloth. There is therefore no difficulty that one finds with townspeople about fine khadi. All that is necessary in the villages is honest propaganda and proper organization for khadi production. And it is the villages after all that absorb crores worth of foreign cloth. Therefore when the double propaganda amongst the merchants and amongst the customers is carried on systematically, persistently and honestly, there should be no difficulty in achieving boycott of foreign cloth and replacing it with khadi, which can be manufactured almost in every village.

Young India, 30-5-1929

400. NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

For the assistance of Congressmen I quote the working resolution[1] of the A.I.C.C. in full:

The substance of this resolution is that before the end of August next there should be on the Congress register at least 7½ lakhs of men and women who have received the message of the Congress and who have accepted the Congress creed and that they should be from all the parts of India including villages. This is one-eighth of what I had originally intended. It is also one-eighth of the number of electors registered as qualified to vote for members for the legislatures. Moreover Indian States, non-regulation tracts, Burma and Frontier provinces are excluded.

[1] Not reproduced here; for the text *vide* pp. 420-1.

Every amendment in the shape of making the burden light was accepted. The resolution was enthusiastically passed. If the members were earnest the resolution ought to be carried out long before the time-limit is reached. If it is honestly worked, we should have as in 1921 an actively working organization responding to the demands that may be made upon it from time to time. This is necessary if the special committees regarding three boycotts, i.e., Foreign Cloth, Liquor and Untouchability, are to be well organized.

The question of the khadi franchise was raised. Strictly, khadi is no part of the franchise. Any person of age signing the Congress creed and tendering 4 annas can demand to be enrolled as a Congress member. Many including Government spies have thus found themselves on the Congress register. But at the time of voting at Congress meetings these have to be habitual wearers of khadi. This clause may be a hindrance to the proper running of the Congress machinery but not to setting it up. Whether the clause should or should not be removed from the constitution is a question which may be specially re-examined by the Congress and debated on merits. If even at this hour Congressmen do not believe in khadi, the clause should certainly be removed. If believing in khadi they do not want it in the constitution, it should also go. If it is retained, for the good name of the Congress it should be strictly enforced. If the 7½ lakhs of members are honestly canvassed, the workers would naturally talk to the men and women whom they may invite to enroll themselves on the work being done and expected of them by the Congress. If I were a canvasser I would use the occasion for selling khadi and for carrying on anti-liquor and anti-untouchability propaganda. If the persons approached are at all politically inclined, I should talk to them about the Nehru constitution and tell them that if it is not accepted by the Government on or before 31st December next, the Congress will be expected to scrap the constitution and declare for complete independence. I should finally tell them that in the event of such declaration, the Congress would expect them to join any campaign of non-co-operation or civil disobedience that may be ordained by it. I know that if we have a *bona fide* organization fulfilling the minimum requirements and submitting to discipline we should have little difficulty in working out civil resistance if it becomes necessary next year as it is highly likely to be.

Young India, 30-5-1929

401. PROGRESS OF F.C.B.[1]

The F.C.B. Committee presented the A.I.C.C. at its meeting last week with a report of its work which, I hope, everyone interested in the movement will secure from the Secretary, Congress House, Bombay. I would advise correspondents to send one-anna stamp for postage. The report covers only two months ending 30th April. Satisfactory as the progress may be considered, it would have been far more so, if we had a responsive Congress organization working full speed. Municipalities and local bodies are slowly moving in reply to Sjt. Jairamdas's appeal. Not more than thirty have as yet sent in their replies. Every local body that has been captured by the Congress should surely carry out the boycott resolution. Meagre as the response from organized public bodies has been, the movement has already made itself felt. From the many extracts quoted in the report I take the following from a speech of Mr. J. C. Roberts, President of the Delhi Piecegoods Association:

> Another disturbing factor which was causing no little anxiety to the commercial community was the present unstable political situation in the country and its *off-shoot in the shape of the threatened movement for the boycott of foreign cloth.* Manufacturing centres were also not free from the effect of the present depression in India and by reports from home it was seen that *about one-third of the total textile mills in Great Britain had to be closed down on account of absence of demand from India and the failure of the Indian buyer to take forward contracts.* . . . Matters were going from bad to worse and the *future looked rather gloomy and uncertain.*

The propaganda has produced a marked effect on the sales of khadi which show a rise upon last year for the same period of 50%.

But says Tattersall regarding Calcutta:

> There have been indications of more demand in piecegoods. . . . *With regard to India there are more signs of Calcutta being in need of bigger supplies especially in dhotis and rather freer buying has taken place.*

Upon this the report says:

> Calcutta imported last year 2,821 lakhs of rupees worth of foreign cloth out of a total of Rs. 6,516 lakhs for the whole country. Its share came

[1] Foreign Cloth Boycott

to 43 per cent. It is thus the chief port of entry of foreign cloth. This fact only increases the significance of the above comment.

Let Calcutta Congressmen take note of the warning.

Many people seem to fear that presently there will be no khadi on the market and that then we shall be as before at the mercy of the indigenous mills with the danger of being once more bamboozled and fooled into taking foreign cloth in the guise of Indian mill-made cloth or at least paying exorbitant prices. The danger is real if we will not devote our time to producing khadi in all the ways open to us. The ways are:

1. Spinning for self,
2. Spinning for hire, and
3. Spinning for sacrifice.

The first is the most important, universal and never failing once it is organized. Time for effective propaganda in this direction has only just been reached. Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan has realized this and is organizing it on a large scale. It is the cheapest method of khadi production, for it does away with the bother of having to find a market for the production. The second is spinning for hire for which there is great scope. But this needs capital for stocking cotton and organizing sales. But of course it also taxes our business capacity, makes us resourceful and enables us to build up a vast organization and find honourable employment for the middle class people. The third method is noble but can be taken up only by a select class. If the nation realized the necessity of sacrifice, it could be a means of producing an unlimited quantity of yarn. All the schools conducted by municipalities can give us yarn to clothe lakhs of people. City-dwellers giving half an hour per day to the wheel can give at least 100 yards of good yarn. Let no one thoughtlessly retort that they can better employ their half hour than by merely spinning yarn. A banker finding himself stranded in a waterless desert cannot better employ his hours than by collecting fresh water. An India bent upon achieving boycott of foreign cloth during this year cannot better employ the time of even the best of her inhabitants than in spinning yarn till that boycott is achieved. We do not see this simple obvious truth because we do not *feel* the necessity of this boycott. At any rate all the three methods are being tried and there is no danger of khadi famine if all of us would work at them to the best of our ability.

Young India, 30-5-1929

402. NOTES

Almora Tour

I hope to leave Sabarmati for Almora on 11th June. It is hardly necessary to remind the workers that

1. There should be no show, no decorations causing expense,
2. No more than the absolutely required number of local volunteers should accompany me during the tour,
3. There will be subscriptions called for, for *Daridranarayana*,
4. Nothing but simplest food should be provided for the party accompanying me,
5. I should have at least six hours during the day given to me for attending to editorial and correspondence work excluding the hours of feeding, etc.,
6. If expenses of reception are to be deducted from the purses that may be collected, audited accounts should be submitted to me, and
7. My party will travel at its own expense, the reception committee kindly providing for transport facilities.

As this tour has been devised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for both rest and work, I am taking with me some who will not be required for the tour but who will accompany me for health's sake. They should in no way be a burden on the reception committee.

Young India, 30-5-1929

403. IN ANDHRA DESHA [-VII]

The heading this week is a misnomer. I am writing these notes at the Udyoga Mandir and not in Andhra. Nevertheless I am still surrounded by Andhra atmosphere and Andhra friends including the head jailor Konda Venkatappayya. I am still busy with the Andhra work and am now conferring with these friends and the members of the A.I.S.A. Council as to how to make the best use of the funds collected. Well then, here is the last list of the collections.

Estimated value of jewels in Nellore Dt. 200-0-0.

17-5-1929—Tadipatri (subsequent collections) 100-0-0; Cuddapah Dt., Dattapuram, 116-0-0; Muddanum, 342-0-0; Chilmakuru, 166-5-9; Nidujuvvi, 116-0-0; Yerraguntla, 1,146-5-1.

18-5-1929—Proddutur, Rs. 1,835-12-0; Gudipadu, 116-0-0; Suddepalli, 500-0-0; Peddamudiam, 116-0-0; Jangalapalli, 116-0-0; Kurnool Dt., Chagallumarru, 342-11-0; Nallagutla, 136-10-3; Sirvel, 116-0-0; Allagadda, 241-0-0; Uygalavada, 84-0-0.

19-5-1929—Nandyal, 1,177-6-0; Ayalur, 116-0-0; Panyam, 116-0-0; Kurnool, 1,705-10-10; Konidedu, 116-0-0; Estimated value of jewels in Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool Dts., 100-0-0.

21-5-1929—Nagalepuram, 20-1-7; Pelakurti, 116-0-0; Kodumuru, 114-0-0; Devanakonda, 143-1-0; Pattikonda, 1,269-0-3; Anantapur Dt., Guntakal, 416-0-0; East Godavary (subsequent collections), 30-3-6; Hyderabad (subsequent collections), 10-0-0; Bellary Dt., Adoni, 1,591-2-9; Guntur Dt. (subsequent collections), 156-0-0.

25-5-1929—Cuddapah Dt. (subsequent collections), 8-14-0.

Grand total Rs. 2,56,279-7-6.

As I said at my farewell speech at Adoni, of all my many tours, this has been the longest and the most intensive I have yet had in any single province, and the subscriptions too, so far as I recollect, the largest yet collected in any single province save of course during the year 1921. I entered Andhra Desha on 6th April and left it on 21st May making exactly 45 days. In that period 319 villages were actually traversed, Guntur and East Krishna leading with 52 each and East Godavari 50, West Godavari 48. I hope next week to publish a consolidated statement that is being prepared for me by the Deshabhakta and Sjt. Narayanmurti who has indeed been preparing the weekly lists.

Its Lesson

The tour has been a perfect study for me. Andhra has limitless possibilities for khadi production. It can be easily organized for other Congress work. There are workers but they need to be drilled, they need strong and yet sympathetic leadership. There is the spirit of sacrifice. But the workers do not know what to do and how to do it. Dissensions divide them. Different and often conflicting programmes and policies confound them. Khadi is slowly but surely binding them and putting them under discipline. I am hoping much from the conference I am having with the workers who have followed me to Sabarmati.

A Tip to Organizers

I may draw the attention of workers to the moving platform which I may claim to have discovered. It is not a discovery of intelligence but of necessity, which is the mother of most inventions and discoveries. I have a weak body which objects strongly to

rise and sit to dictation. To get off cars and push through admiring and shouting crowds, mount platforms sometimes threatening to give way and at times making good the threat, to dismount, push again through more pressing crowds and with difficulty to remount the car and finally to sink in the seat to be again called upon fifteen minutes after to go through the same ceremony is more than my body would now undertake. I therefore suggested to my head gaoler that the car should be brought to the centre and should serve as platform. I should sit on the edge of the back of the car and address meetings therefrom. He readily agreed. The contrivance saved time, energy, space and money. No platform, no chairs, no decorations, save the decorated hearts of the people. The arrangement proved to be perfect. And where many meetings have to be addressed, I suggest it for adoption by organizers.

KHADI-CLAD BARBER

Generally I do my own shaving. This time I discarded the safety set given by a friend and returned to an old Bihari razor left by Maganlal Gandhi. It is a first-class instrument, if it is kept properly. I have not yet mastered the art of using the stone and the strop which our barbers use with ease and native skill. I therefore sent for a khadi-clad barber at an early stage of the tour. It is the easiest thing in Andhra to procure a khadi-clad barber; it is difficult in, say, Bombay. I gave him my tackle and had a luxurious shave. I saw that thus to secure a khadi-clad barber was good khadi propaganda for the chairman of the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee. It gave me an opportunity of preaching the message of *Daridranarayana* to a class than whom one cannot imagine better propaganda agents. But I saw that if I got the barber to use my tackle, I could not carry the message of full swadeshi to him nor give him a lesson in sanitary hygiene. Next time therefore I allowed the barber to use his own instruments, which had to be first washed and cleaned. At one place a khadi-clad barber was produced with the latest razor from the West, a Western shaving soapstick, a Western brush, a Western-looking glass, etc., nicely packed in a Western box. I have suspicions that all this belonged to my khadi-clad generous host. I realized the falsity of the situation. I had now to see that the instruments the barber brought were swadeshi so far as possible.

Here then is another tip for workers. Let them carry the message of swadeshi to their barbers, washermen and others with whom they come in daily contact. Let us not treat them as illiterate dependents unworthy of our notice. Let us treat them as

fellow-citizens whose services are as necessary for the advancement of the nation as those of the tallest among us.

There was another lesson this barber incident brought home to me. We often think that we have carried out the full message of swadeshi when we have adopted khadi. We treat it as a passport for the use of everything else from non-Indian sources and for the introduction of the latest fashions from Paris. This is a travesty of swadeshi and a denial of the message of khadi. Whilst khadi is an obligation for all time in India, surely it is equally an obligation to use India-made things wherever we can get them even though they may be inferior to foreign articles. There are several swadeshi things on the market which are in danger of disappearance for want of patronage. They may not be up to the mark. It is for us to use them and require the makers to improve them wherever improvement is possible. Rule of the best and the cheapest is not always true. Just as we do not give up our country for one with a better climate but endeavour to improve our own, so also may we not discard swadeshi for better or cheaper foreign things. Even as a husband who being dissatisfied with his simple-looking wife goes in search of a better-looking woman is disloyal to his partner, so is a man disloyal to his country who prefers foreign-made things though better to country-made things. The law of each country's progress demands on the part of its inhabitants preference for their own products and manufactures.

Young India, 30-5-1929

404. TRIALS OF PUNJAB

It seems as if the Punjab Government is trying to thwart the Congress preparations in the Punjab in every way open to it. The use of the central site chosen by the P.C.C. has been refused. Now workers are being arrested, their houses searched and in other ways molested. Even the Secretary, Dr. Satyapal, has not been left free. It is however a happy sign that the Punjabis are undaunted and are prosecuting their preparations with unabated zeal. I hope that the Punjabis will make a resolute effort to ensure the success of the forthcoming Congress and show the Government that repression will only refine instead of crushing their spirit.

Young India, 30-5-1929

405. *LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI*

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
May 30, 1929

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have your letter. Narandas will of course write to you. If the vaid so advises you should try his treatment at Almora. Perhaps this is better. In that case it would be better for you to stick to one place instead of running around with me. I will stay at Almora. And in the mean while you would be somewhere near me. Ratilal and Champabehn too wish for some cool air. They too can be sent away provided there is some escort. If it would not embarrass you I would hire a bungalow for them and you too should stay with them because someone has to go with them. You need not accept this suggestion if you do not like it. The suggestion to go over to Almora is independent of this and it had occurred before I thought of Ratilal.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 897. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

406. *LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA*

UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI,
May 31, 1929

DEAR SISTER,

I have your letter. I am glad to learn that your health is slightly better. I too wish that we should be together for a while but God alone knows when the opportunity will occur. If you can live in peace at the Ashram it is my earnest desire that you should come and spend some time with me. I plan to stay here in July and August. I shall leave for the Almora tour on June 11. I shall return in the beginning of July.

I hope your study of the *Ramayana* goes on.

My health is good.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1664

407. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI,
May 31, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. There is no doubt that D. committed suicide. I had sent him a telegram,[1] and that too a harsh one certainly. I had several telegrams and letters from him. To him the whole world had become poisoned. People no doubt were a little unjust to him. But some injustice there always is. D. was a learned man. He had read Lecky's[2] praise of suicide. He appears to have acted on it. You no doubt gave him support. If you can find out, will you let me know whether he died before or after he got my telegram? Send me any other details you come across.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6170. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] This telegram is not available.

[2] W. E. H. Lecky (1838-1903), author of *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

KHADI AND SWARAJ[1]

WHY CAN KHADI HELP US TO WIN SWARAJ?

Because

Over three-quarters of India's population are under-employed and under-fed agriculturists, and khadi can give them work and food.

Because

One of England's chief reasons for holding India in subjection is that she finds in India the finest market for her cotton cloth, and khadi can put an end to that market.

WHY CAN KHADI HELP US TO WIN SWARAJ
BETTER THAN INDIAN MILL-CLOTH?

Because

Khadi can give supplementary work to the crores of distressed agriculturists who must not leave their land, and therefore cannot go to work in mills.

Because

Cotton mills could never give sufficient work to relieve the vast masses of the unemployed.

Because

The production of khadi can be quickly organized on an enormous scale at very small cost, whereas to substantially increase the mills would mean enormous expenditure and delay of many years.

NOTE

The cost of setting up a modern yarn mill of 20,000 spindles is approximately Rs. 1,660,917. If this sum were invested in charkhas, it could provide at least 1,660,917 hand-spindles instead of 20,000 mill-spindles and the output of yarn could be at least 13 to 14 times greater than that of the mill. This is allowing 10 hours a day at the rate of 600 yards per hour for mill-spindles and 4 hours a day at the rate of 250 yards for hand-spindles.

From the original: C.W. 5345. Courtesy: Mirabehn

[1] Extracted from "Notes on Khadi", by Mirabehn; *vide* p. 33.

APPENDIX II

PROHIBITION CAMPAIGN[1]

1. Each Provincial Congress Committee shall appoint a Prohibition Sub-Committee or put a single person in charge in order to prosecute the Congress anti-drink and drug campaign in the province, and set aside sufficient funds for the purpose.

2. The Sub-Committee or member in charge in each province shall call for honorary workers who are willing to organize the anti-drink campaign in the talukas. The Provincial Sub-Committee shall thereupon select from these one worker for each taluka who shall be the anti-drink secretary for the taluka, provided that the Sub-Committee shall have power to change the secretary if it deems necessary.

3. The organizing secretary of each taluka shall proceed to form Anti-Drink Sabhas in as many towns and villages of the taluka as possible, enrolling as members all persons sympathizing with the object, viz., the eradication of the drink and drug evil and the enactment of laws for total prohibition. Members of these Sabhas need not necessarily be members of any Congress Committee or habitual wearers of khadi.

4. Attached to every such Anti-Drink Sabha and subject to its control shall be organized a volunteer corps in which shall be enrolled men and women ready to render honorary active service strictly adhering to the principle of non-violence and carrying out the instructions issued from time to time by the Provincial Sub-Committee and the taluka secretary.

5. On the second Sunday of every month meetings and processions shall be organized against the use of intoxicating drugs and drinks and demanding total prohibition.

6. Besides the holding of the above monthly meetings, it will be the duty of primary organizations and the taluka secretary to organize as many gatherings as possible in their respective areas, and village-to-village and house-to-house visits for combating the evil within their jurisdiction.

7. Anti-Drink Sabhas and Congress Committees shall organize wherever possible healthy counter-attractions at such places and hours as may be suitable in order to divert people from the drink habit.

8. At each anti-drink meeting, pledges shall be taken in solemn form from all persons promising to abstain from alcoholic drink and drugs.

9. Sabhas may after obtaining the sanction of the Provincial Sub-Committee organize peaceful picketing of liquor and drug shops wherever the same may be usefully done by their volunteers.

[1] *Vide* pp. 204 & 415.

10. Sabhas shall exercise their influence to prevent landholders and lessees from letting out their trees for tapping for manufacture of intoxicating drinks.

11. Sabhas shall dissuade people from bidding at auction sales of the right to vend drinks and drugs.

12. On or before the third Sunday of every month each taluka secretary shall gather information and send to the Provincial Sub-Committee a brief report of the meetings held on the Sunday preceding and other work done during the month in his taluka. The Provincial Sub-Committee shall consolidate these reports and send them to the Working Committee and to the Press for publication.

13. Written pledges shall be taken from voters and citizens supporting total prohibition in the following form with names and full addresses legibly written:

"I hereby pledge myself to support the enactment of laws for the total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs as indispensable for the moral, economic and social welfare and progress of our country. I further declare that in any election to local bodies and provincial and all-India legislative bodies I shall not vote for or support any candidate who has not signed the pledge in support of total prohibition."

Suitable books for taking these pledges shall be distributed by Provincial Committees.

14. The Provincial Sub-Committee may appoint a District Prohibition Secretary when the amount of work within the district calls for such appointment.

15. If and when elections to the Legislative Councils and Assembly are held and Congressmen participate in them the introduction and active promotion of total prohibition shall be made a part of the election pledge of Congress candidates.

Young India, 23-5-1929

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Bapuna Patro –1 : Ashramni Behnone (Gujarati): Ed. Kaka Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

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Bapuna Patro – 6: G. S. Gangabehnne (Gujarati): Ed. Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

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(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*: English daily published from Bombay.

Forward: English daily started by C. R. Das in Calcutta.

GANDHI SAMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian Literature and documents, *vide* Vol. I, p. 349 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

(*The*) *Hindu*: English newspaper issued from Madras; started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily since 1889.

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(THE) MANUSCRIPT OF MAHADEV DESAI'S DIARY: Kept in Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli.

Navajivan (1919-31): Gujarati weekly (with occasional bi-weekly issues) edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad; first issued on September 7, 1919. It was converted from *Navajivan ane Satya*, Gujarati monthly (1915-19). Also issued in Hindi from August 19, 1921.

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(*The*) *Problems of Education*: M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933, *vide* Vol. I, p. 349 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

(*The*) *Tribune*: English daily published from Ambala.

True Education: M. K. Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Young India (1919-31): English weekly founded by Jamnadas Dwarkadas at Bombay; from May 7, 1919, published bi-weekly under Gandhiji's supervision; from October, 1919, issued as a weekly from Ahmedabad with Gandhiji as Editor.

CHRONOLOGY

(*February 15, 1929 — May 31, 1929*)

February 15: Gandhiji addressed public meeting in Mirpurkhas. Sind tour concluded.

On or after *February 15:* Issued statement on Sind Congress affairs.

February 17: Arrived in Delhi.
Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee.

February 19: At Delhi.
Attended with the Viceroy Vithalbhai Patel's party.

February 21: Reached Sabarmati Ashram.

February 28: At Ahmedabad, spoke at unveiling of Tilak statue, flag-hoisting ceremony and public meeting.

March 3: Arrived in Calcutta.

March 4: In a speech in Shraddhanand Park, Calcutta, advised the people to boycott foreign cloth. The speech was followed by bonfire of foreign cloth.
Gandhiji was arrested and later released on personal recognizance.

March 5: Issued statement to Press on Calcutta's bonfire incident at 2.30 a.m.
Left for Rangoon in morning by s.s. *Aronda*.

March 8: Arrived in Rangoon. Addressed public meetings.
Gave interview to Free Press of India.

March 9: Spoke at public meeting in Rangoon.

March 10: In Rangoon addressed meetings of Gujaratis, Arya Samajists, Indian gate-keepers, Indians and students.

March 12: At Moulmein. Addressed Gujaratis' meeting.

March 13: Spoke at public meeting, Moulmein.

March 14: In Rangoon, spoke at Ramakrishna Mission and women's meeting.

March 15: Delivered speeches at Paungde and Prome.

March 18: At Mandalay, spoke at public meeting.

March 19: At Toungoo, spoke at public meeting.

March 20: Spoke at labourers' and students' meetings.

March 22: Left Rangoon for Calcutta. Collected more than Rs. 1,50,000.

March 24: Arrived in Calcutta.

March 26: Gave statement in the course of his trial in the court of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.
Left for Delhi.

March 27: Reached Delhi. Attended meeting of Congress Working Committee.
Left for Ahmedabad.

March 29: In Ahmedabad, gave interview to the Associated Press.

March 30: At Morvi, addressed Fifth Kathiawar Political Conference held under the Presidentship of Vallabhbhai Patel.

April 1: Left Morvi at night.

April 2: In Ahmedabad.

April 5: Reached Bombay. Spoke at the opening ceremony of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee's new office. Left Bombay for Andhra Desha.

April 6: Reached Andhra Desha.
Replied to the joint address presented by the public of Hyderabad (Deccan) and Secunderabad.

April 7: In Hyderabad. Visited local schools.
Left for Bezwada.

April 8: Spent night at Nandigama.

April 9: Spoke at Nandigama in the morning.
Reached Bezwada.

April 10: Addressed public meeting at Bezwada.

April 11: Reached Wuyyur at 8 p.m.

April 12: Delivered a speech at Wuyyur.

April 13: Delivered speeches at Arundhati Ashram, Andhra Jatiya Kalashala and women's meeting, Masulipatam.

April 17: Left Masulipatam for Guntur.
Addressed public meetings in Guntur, Kerinchedu and Pedanandipadu.

April 24: Laid the foundation stone of Vivekananda Library, Potunooru.
Reached Gundukolanu at 8.15 p.m. Stayed there for night.

April 25: Spoke at Tadepalligudem.

April 26: Spoke at Achanta.

April 27: Spent night at Ananda Niketan Ashram, Chagallu.

April 28: Reached Vizagapatam at 3 p.m.
Spoke at public meeting, Vizagapatam.

May 1: Spoke at public meeting, Anakapalli.

May 2: Spoke at public meeting, Tuni.

May 3: Spoke at public meeting, Pithapuram.

May 5: At Palivela.

May 6: At Rajole.

May 7: Spoke at public meeting, Rajahmundry.

May 8: Spoke at public meeting, Sitanagaram.

May 9: Spoke at public meeting, Polavaram.

May 10: Spoke at Buchireddipalem and Kavali public meetings.

May 13: At Nellore.

May 19: At Nellore.

May 20: At Kurnool.

May 21: Spoke at farewell function, Adoni.
Left for Bombay after visiting 319 villages in Andhra Desha and collecting about Rs. 2,64,400.

May 22: Reached Bombay at night.

May 24: In Bombay, gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle.*

May 25: Spoke at the A.I.C.C. meeting.

May 28: Reached Sabarmati Ashram.

May 31: In Sabarmati Ashram.

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ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
8	Footnote 2	*Vide* pp. 130-2.	*Vide* pp. 138-40.
179	Item 162, line 6	have	leave
220	Footnote	The names are omitted in the source.	The names are omitted.
382	Line 21		send